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THE
NORTH AMERICAN
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VOL. XXV.

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New Series.

VOL. XVI.

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1827.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LVI.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXXI.

JULY, 1827.

- ART. I.—1. *Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805, und 1806, auf Befehl Seiner Kaiserlicher Majestät Alexander des Ersten, &c.* 3 Theile. St Petersburg. 1810, 1811, 1812.
2. *Voyage round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, by order of his Imperial Majesty, Alexander the First. Translated from the original German, by RICHARD B. HOPPNER.* 2 vols. 4to. London. 1813.
3. *Wörter Sammlungen aus den Sprachen einiger Völker des österlichen Asiens, und der Nord-West Küste von America, bekannt gemacht von A. I. von Krusenstern.* St Petersburg. 1813. 4to. pp. 68.
Vocabularies of the Languages of some of the Tribes of Eastern Asia, and on the Northwest Coast of America. By A. I. de Krusenstern.
4. *Recueil de Mémoires Hydrographiques, pour servir d'Analyse et d'Explication à l'Atlas de l'Océan Pacifique, par le Commodore de Krusenstern. De l'Imprimerie du Département de l'Instruction Publique.* St Petersburg. 1824. 4to. pp. 324.

SOME of our readers may yet remember the account, which was given in one of the early numbers of the London Quarterly Review, of the two first volumes of Captain, now Vice Admiral Krusenstern's Voyage around the World. At that epoch, it was

usual with the Journal to which we refer to deal in severe strictures on maritime enterprises directed by foreign nations. But in comparing the review of D'Entrecasteaux's Voyage with that of the Russian expedition, a certain graduation of the jealousy and prejudice against strangers may easily be discerned. England was at war with France; the Quarterly Review, if possible, was still more at war with everything connected, however remotely, with that country. Its hostile feeling could only be soothed by the casual circumstance, that some leading character connected with the enterprise, had previously sustained some relation or other to England.

The papers of D'Entrecasteaux had fallen into the hands of the English government. M. de Rossel, one of the most distinguished officers of the expedition, had passed some time in England, and had, it seems, even been employed by the Admiralty, in some professional works, before he returned to his own country, where he shortly afterwards was admitted again into the French navy, and commissioned to draw up an account of his voyage. Nothing apparently but a short residence in England could have shielded M. de Rossel against the ill will of the reviewer; a misfortune which attended the next French maritime expedition. The hardships and sufferings, which befell those who were engaged in it, were almost entirely the result of the carelessness, covetousness, and stupidity of the commander. Baudin was a merchant captain. This circumstance alone would not have been a sufficient motive for lessening the anticipation of the service he might render to science. Eustache Bruix, one of the most distinguished ministers of the French naval department, at least among those who were professional men, began his naval career in the mercantile line. Marchand's voyage has been the source of many useful data in navigation and geography; and the most recent example in England, of distinguished services performed by the captain of a merchant vessel, is Weddel, the immediate object of whose voyage towards the South Pole was to procure a cargo of seal skins, who has furnished valuable information on the islands and seas at the southern extremity of this continent, and whose discovery of the group called by him Orkney Islands, has not, we believe, yet been contested. In our own country, the military navy has drawn some of its most distinguished officers from among the commanders of mercantile ships. The naval annals of Great Britain offer numerous analogous exam-

ples ; and in that kingdom it often happens, that officers, and more frequently masters in the royal navy, and officers of that rank, enlist themselves in the commercial marine. Such was the case with Mr Weddel. But there is not now in France, nor, we may say, in all Europe, any other opinion in respect to Captain Baudin, than that which we are far from exaggerating by the language we use. The omission of his name on the title page of the relation, which was published by Péron, of the expedition he had so unskilfully directed, was but a very mild punishment for the miseries he had heaped on the persons whose lives were entrusted to his care. We know from an individual, who was on the eve of embarking with that ill fated expedition, and who consequently may be supposed to have been solicitous to collect information about the commander, that the then secretary of the navy was generally blamed in France for the choice he had made. This was the same minister, who appointed Villeneuve to be admiral in chief of the forces, which were to fight against Nelson, and thus prepared the way for the destruction of the French navy at Trafalgar.

M. de Humboldt had intended to join that expedition, and by recurring to his works, it will be seen how he judged of Captain Baudin. Yet it would seem he had one claim to unusual indulgence. He perished, says the reviewer, in the battle of Trafalgar. That last scene of his life might probably contribute enough to the glory of England to obtain for him, if not an express vindication of his honor, at least some testimony of sympathy for the injustice he was deemed to have suffered. 'A little more delicacy,' they add, 'might have been observed towards the memory of an officer, who fought bravely for his country at Trafalgar, when his ship the *Fougueux* went down after the action, and Captain Baudin with every soul on board perished.'* In regard to this expression of generous sympathy, we have only to remark, on the authority of the *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne*, and of M. Esmenard, in particular,† that Captain Baudin died at the Isle of France, after a residence of two years, on the 16th of September, 1803, in consequence of a distemper caught during his long navigation, and, as the biographers observe, 'without having gathered any fruit from his labors, and without having cleared himself from many serious accusations.'

* Quarterly Review for August, 1810. † Vol. 3. p. 538.

Captain Krusenstern was in the service of a government, for which the reviewers felt bound to express different feelings than for France. He had been for some time, moreover, in the English navy. Nothing in his work indicated, that he was unfriendly to the principles held up by the reviewers. The two vessels which he commanded had been bought in England, and in that country also had been purchased a part of the provisions and the astronomical instruments. Under such mitigating circumstances, the relation of the Russian expedition might be entitled to an exception from the general tone of severity and animadversion, so well deserved, it was thought, by a nation who could dare to come in competition with the sovereigns of the ocean, even in things less lucrative, than conquest and commercial monopoly.

Captain Krusenstern, however, was by no means to be spared, when expressing his regard for another rival nation. The reviewer's propensities are brought out in strong relief by the following remarks of Captain Krusenstern, concerning the name of a cluster of islands in the Pacific. 'Should not an exception be made,' says he, 'in favor of the name of Washington, which must form an ornament to any chart? Is it allowed to erase from the charts, the immortal name of the founder and the protector of a great state, to which one of its grateful citizens had dedicated a new group of islands?' In his translation, the reviewer has omitted a part of the sentence, in which it is asked, 'Is it not conformable to the strictest justice, that the first discovery made by Americans should be preserved in the naval annals with its proper name?' And the passage concludes with the following words, also omitted; 'Yet I leave it to geographers to adopt or reject my suggestions, and until they decide, I preserve the islands on our maps under the name of Washington.' Moreover, the writer would have us believe, that Captain Krusenstern was ignorant of the discoveries of Mendaña, and of the arrivals of Cook, Marchand, and Hergest, at some of the above mentioned islands; yet, with the exception of Captain Wilson's voyage in 1779, all the other visits noticed in the article are also referred to in the relation of the Russian captain.

But the reviewer has neglected to mention that another American navigator besides Ingraham, that is, Captain Josiah Roberts, of the ship *Jefferson*, had visited the Mendoza islands, and given to a portion of them the name of Washington. This

circumstance was an additional reason with Krusenstern for retaining the name. 'Roberts,' says he, 'had remained three months in Taowatte; from whence, in 1793, a nation of the island of Uahaga conducted him to that spot. Roberts was probably the first who gave to these islands the name of Washington, as may be seen by La Rochefoucault's tour in America. Ingraham had also given that name to the island of Uahaga, and it is therefore, uncertain, which of the two had first bestowed that appellation. At all events the honor of the discovery belongs to the Americans, and whether Ingraham gave the name of Washington to one of these islands, or Roberts to the whole cluster, it is but equitable that it should be preserved.' A little further onward he asks whether such an addition to geographical nomenclature shall be rejected, only with a view of uniting that cluster of islands with another that had been discovered and named two hundred years before.*

In regard to these strictures upon the article in question, we shall only add that while we deprecate all illiberality and hostile feeling, and wonder at the narrow national prejudices of men, whose ability and accomplishments should have raised them above such vulgar impulses; while we blame their avarice of praise when strangers are entitled to it, and unwillingly discover in their expressions of approbation a stammering of their tongues, and in their censures the clamorous triumph of schoolboys and tyros, who happen to remember something better than their teachers; we are at the same time not ignorant that when principles are believed to lie at the bottom of opinions and of behavior, it becomes a duty to consider the basis as well as the superstructure. The severity with which some English journals, and some English statesmen too, canvassed everything connected with the existing government of France, at the period to which we have alluded, their bitter acrimony against the 'Dutch boors' and the 'grande nation,' their parsimonious encomiums on the great scientific researches

* In a note, Captain Krusenstern refers with respect to an extract from the account of Ingraham's voyage, contained in the *Memoirs of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for the year 1795, inserted in Baron de Zach's *Monthly Correspondence*, vol. I. p. 348. We believe that the general government of the United States recently purchased all Ingraham's papers of his son, and that they are now deposited in the office of the secretary of state, among the documents relating to the Northwest coast of this continent.

pursued by the French, and their spleen against every attempt not only to rival, but even to emulate England, all these now seem unreasonable, contrary to justice and impartiality, to a disinterested love of science, and sometimes contrary even to common charity. But in thus looking back to past events, the contemporaneous political circumstances should not be forgotten. 'It is a characteristic of the English nation,' says Sir Walter Scott, in his *Life of Dryden*, 'that their habitual dislike against their neighbors is soon and easily blown into animosity.' Moreover, at the epoch to which we refer, England was fighting for her existence, and the interests of national independence and liberty were closely linked with the fate of that country. She was struggling with a foe, who openly professed the most violent hatred of her institutions, who showed the most shameless envy of her prosperity, and a determined resolution to employ every means to destroy the sources of that prosperity, and who made even science subservient to designs of revenge and efforts for supremacy. If under any circumstances animosity could warrant retaliation, England could assert that hers was of such a nature. Political morality had, at that unfortunate epoch, peculiar laws, happily of short duration. We have at last, reached a time, when we can with calmness consider the tempest which ravaged the world, examine impartially the character of the contending elements, and be equitable to errors, and faults, and natural infirmities. We do not feel inclined to see in any other light the prejudices, which disfigured, and sometimes debased the journal to which we have referred.

M. de Krusenstern was, at an early time, one of those who believed that Russia is not absolutely prevented from becoming a commercial country, either by natural, moral, or political causes. He considered the first Russian expedition to Kamtschatka (1696), and the discovery of the Aleutian islands (1741), as an important step towards that end. From this latter date, Russian speculators were intent upon procuring from those islands furs for the consumption of China, by way of the internal trade of Russia. In 1785, a Russian American company was formed, and an establishment was begun in the island of Kodiak, which, by its intermediate situation between the Aleutian islands, Kamtschatka, and the coast of America, was peculiarly important for their enterprises. Factories were successively opened in almost all the Aleutian islands, and fortifications were erected for their security. The principal seat of the

company was Irkutsk. The government had however, not yet afforded any protection to their undertaking ; and upon the complaints which were brought against the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of some of the company's agents towards the natives of the islands, the emperor Paul determined to dissolve that commercial society ; and this would probably have taken place, had not M. Resanoff interceded in their behalf. This gentleman was son-in-law to one of the principal partners of the company, and the fortune which he received upon his marriage, principally consisted in stocks pertaining to that trade. He was fortunate enough, not only to prevent the stroke, which threatened the company, but to procure for it a more stable existence, and important privileges.

The board of directors was from that moment transferred from Irkutsk to St Petersburg, and the activity of the company was soon in a fair way of increasing. An Englishman was sent to the islands, who was not only an intelligent seaman, but a man well qualified to direct the building of ships. The captains of the company's vessels were chosen with great care, and provided with large means to enter with safety upon the execution of their duties. But the most important era in the history of that establishment, was the accession of the late emperor Alexander to the throne, and his becoming himself a partner in the speculations of the company, with the purpose of setting the nobility the example of encouraging national industry. It was also fortunate for the company, that Count Romanzoff was in the ministry, at the head of the commercial relations. The colonies, indeed, were in want of money, and of the most important necessities, as well for their security, as for the subsistence of the settlers. Neither the Aleutian islands nor the adjacent coast of America could furnish them with breadstuff. But to grant them that assistance, it was necessary to promote a frequent intercourse by sea with the mother country, as the succors which had been sent over by way of Jakutsk and Ochotzk proved insufficient, excessively expensive, and insecure. Anchors and naval materials could not be sent over land, or when transported in pieces, they were useless, however ingeniously they were arranged. The intercourse between Ochotzk and the islands was also very difficult. All this rendered it indispensable to send supplies directly from Russia either round Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, and the first attempt was made in 1803. This is the expedition which we

are about to bring to the notice of our readers. M. de Krusenstern, who commanded it, was also the chief cause of its being fitted out at that time. Having from 1793 to 1799 served in the British navy, he enjoyed opportunities of witnessing the national as well as individual efforts, by which the English carried on their trade with India and China; and he soon conceived a hope, that his countrymen might share the same advantages, even without venturing upon the expense and the entanglements of permanent establishments in those countries. The greatest difficulty lay in the scarcity of officers in the Russian navy, who had ever navigated the Indian seas.

M. de Krusenstern was anxious to make a voyage, which might redound to the honor and advantage of his country, and through the interest of Count Woronzoff, then the imperial ambassador at the court of London, he obtained in 1797 permission to embark on board a British man of war bound to Cape Horn, whence he proceeded to India in a frigate. After a year's residence in that country, he went in a merchant ship to China, for the purpose of extending his practical knowledge by a navigation of the dangerous seas in those parts. While he was in Canton (in 1798 and 1799), a small vessel of about one hundred tons arrived in that port from the Northwest coast of America; it had been fitted out in Macao, and had been absent but five months. The captain was an Englishman. The cargo, consisting of furs, was sold for sixty thousand dollars. M. de Krusenstern knew that his countrymen carried on the fur trade, by procuring that merchandise from the same places as the English, and that they sent it over by way of Ochotzk to Kiachta, which is the great marketplace between Russia and China. By that circuitous course, they suffered the disadvantage of a late return of their capital, nearly two years being necessary for the transportation and sale of the merchandise; and they were much exposed to losses in the short navigation which they had to perform. M. de Krusenstern was led to believe that his countrymen could acquire greater benefits with less danger, if they could open a direct trade between their American establishments and China.

During his voyage back to Europe, he drew up a memorial, which he intended to present to the Russian government, and in which he endeavored to anticipate and refute the objections that would probably be made by those, who pretended that Russia wanted some of the most important elements for ex-

tending its maritime commerce. Among other things, he suggested, that to the six hundred marine cadets, who were educated at the expense of the government, and who were noble by birth, one hundred of a lower condition should be added, to be educated exactly like the former, but under a stipulation to serve in the mercantile navy. The officers were to recommend to the consideration of the government all the young sailors, who showed a capacity for distinguishing themselves; and the example of Cook, Bougainville, and Nelson, was alleged to prove, that birth was not an indispensable requisite for gaining the highest renown, and for rendering the greatest services. The patriotic captain enlarged upon the advantages of the fur trade, and the difficulties with which in their actual circumstances the American company had to struggle; and lastly he suggested, that two ships should be sent from Cronstadt to the Russian colonies with naval provisions, shipbuilders, charts, books, and a teacher, in order that henceforth ships might be built in the Aleutian islands and in the Russian establishment upon the adjacent coast of America, and that by means of them a direct trade might be carried on by sea with China, without relinquishing, however, that by land. The Chinese products, which would be bought with the proceeds of the furs, were to be conveyed to Russia by ships that were to be kept in readiness at Canton, or by those which had carried the furs.

On his return to Russia, M. de Krusenstern presented his memoir to the president of the board of trade, and to the secretary of the navy. But little attention was paid to it; which is ascribed to the successive changes of the incumbents in these ministerial departments, towards the end of the reign of the emperor Paul, and to the difficulties which the projector found in obtaining permission to attend personally in St Petersburg on those authorities, with whom it rested to promote the execution of his plans. At length, the late emperor mounted the throne; and Admiral Mordwinoff, a gentleman who we believe has family connexions in the United States, being appointed chief of the navy department, the views of M. de Krusenstern found a powerful support, not only in the interest of that minister, but in Count Romanzoff, who was at the head of the department for commercial affairs.

In August, 1802, he was at length appointed commander of two vessels, the *Nadeshda* and the *Newa*, which were fitted out for

the expedition. His second, whom he was permitted to designate to the government, was captain-lieutenant Lisianskoy, who was to command the *Newa*, and who has published an account of his researches, and of the events which occurred during the time that he was detached from the principal commander of the expedition. Among the officers were two other gentlemen, who have since distinguished themselves in separate employments, alike tending to the increase of geographical knowledge, Barons Billingshausen and Kotzebue.

The ships were bought in London, and in January, 1803, all things were in readiness for their departure. At first the object of the expedition related exclusively to what was embraced in M. de Krusenstern's project; but on a sudden an embassy to Japan was engrafted upon it, and M. de Resanoff was appointed to that mission, to which several military and civil officers were attached. The astronomical and philosophical instruments were for the most part procured in England. The astronomer, Doctor Horner, a pupil of Baron de Zach, brought others from Germany; and the expedition may be said to have been well provided with all the means of pursuing successfully scientific researches.

In August, 1803, the two vessels set sail from Cronstadt. They touched at Copenhagen and Falmouth, whence they at last actually set out on the circumnavigation of the globe. Their stay in the Canary, St Catharine, and Washington islands, in Kamtschatka and Japan, in Jesso and the bay of Aniva, their navigation of the sea of Japan, and the nautical survey of Sachalin, belong to that part of their operations more or less accurately examined in the *Quarterly Review*; and we shall therefore confine our further remarks to the remaining part of the voyage, and to a brief notice of the works mentioned at the head of this article, in which various details of the expedition are described.

On the 29th of August, 1805, the Russian vessel, *Nadeshda*, commanded by Captain Krusenstern, anchored in the harbor of St Peter and St Paul, in Kamtschatka. Though according to the latest intelligence, that could be had in that region, so remote from the capital, Russia was then at peace with all other powers, the appearance of a vessel excited some alarm and uneasiness among the inhabitants. Luckily for them an old companion of the famous Behring recognised the vessel by the extreme shortness of her top gallant masts.

No provisions were ready, not a single ship was in the harbor, and no letters had arrived. But in less than five days after the arrival of the expedition at St Peter and St Paul, a ship brought despatches highly gratifying to the commander. A messenger sent by Count Romanzoff, who had performed the journey to Ochotzk in sixtytwo days, brought him two autographic letters from the emperor, a still greater proof of the satisfaction which the commander and the officers of the expedition had given to their government. Captain Krusenstern thought that a great part of his task was now accomplished, and, as he says, 'that at least the honor due to the undertaking was already secured.' He determined, therefore, to despatch by a messenger over land to the admiralty and the directing ministers, a summary account of the discoveries made by the expedition, and the other results of their labors. By some unfortunate accident these despatches were detained until the time had arrived when they could only be forwarded by the winter post, and they were long delayed on their passage to St Petersburg.

The preparations for the return to Europe were meanwhile pursued with zeal. The ships were unrigged and unloaded, and all possible care was taken to provide the necessary supply of provisions. It may serve as proof of the little experience, which the civil and military authorities of Kamtschatka had in such matters, and of the small resources of that country, that the salt meat was thought to be as easily preserved by means of sea water as by salt, and the biscuits were stuffed into leathern bags, instead of being kept in casks of deal, which would have cost less, and preserved them much better. Two distinguished navigators had been buried at St Peter and St Paul, both strangers to Russia, and from remote countries, Lisle de la Croyère and Captain Charles Clerke. This latter gentleman succeeded to the command of Captain Cook, after his murder by the natives of one of the Sandwich islands. La Peyrouse had honored his memory by restoring the escutcheon painted by Webber, and suspended by Captain King in the church at Paratunka. But the officers of the *Nadeshda* found that memento removed to the house of a Russian officer, without any one of the inhabitants knowing what was its object. It was determined to unite the remains of both these eminent navigators under the same monument, and to this end they caused a solid pedestal of wood to be placed as near as possible to the old tree, in order still to preserve the locality; upon this

a pyramid was erected, on one side of which the engraved plate left by La Peyrouse was fastened, and on the opposite side a copy of Captain Clerke's escutcheon, made for the occasion by M. Tilesius. On the side facing the north was the following inscription in Russian ;—' In the first voyage around the world, undertaken by the Russians, under the command of Captain Krusenstern, the officers of the ship *Nadeshda* erected this monument to the memory of the English Captain Clerke, on the 15th of September, 1805.' And on the side facing the south ;—' Here rest the ashes of *Lisle de la Croyère*, the astronomer attached to the expedition commanded by Commodore Behring in the year 1741.' We quote with pleasure this honorable testimony of the sympathy and respect of the Russian officers towards strangers.*

Seven Japanese had been wrecked in the preceding Autumn on one of the Kurile islands, and conducted by a Russian priest to St Peter and St Paul. They were skilful and industrious, and it was the intention of the Russian authorities to send them to Kodiak, where they would have been very useful, but they were at last transferred to Werckroy Kamtschatka. They seemed pleased with their situation, and expressed a desire to embrace the Christian religion. A day was appointed for the ceremony, and their behavior removed all suspicion, that they were anxious to return to their country. But on a sudden they were missed ; and it was discovered that they had departed in

* It is a curious circumstance that William de Lisle, as well as Lewis, and Joseph Nicholas de Lisle, were more or less connected with Russia. Of William de Lisle it is reported that Peter the Great made him a visit, at Paris, and was surprised to learn from him more about his empire than he knew himself. Lewis is the astronomer, whose memory, as was just observed, had been honored by three different scientific and maritime expeditions. He was the companion of Gmelin and Müller in their tour through a great part of Siberia, and died while he was engaged in exploring the unknown Northwest coast of America. Joseph Nicholas, who was a younger brother of the preceding, but was superior to him in astronomical knowledge, and left more monuments of his zeal for science, went to Russia in 1726, and departed from it ill pleased with the treatment he had experienced. Yet one of his inventions (if it deserve that name), a thermometer, the freezing point of which is marked 150°, is still in use in Russia, and must bring him often to the recollection at least of the meteorological observers in that country. A memoir written by him on the climate of Siberia, may be found in the Transactions of the French Academy for the year 1749.

their own boat, though it was leaky and open, and without any other provision than a little rice. The attempts to overtake them were vain, but intelligence was afterwards received, that they safely reached their home.

The attention of the public in this country has lately been drawn to a family, who were exiled to Siberia, and whom the emperor Alexander recalled from banishment soon after he mounted the imperial throne. M. de Krusenstern relates another instance less affecting than the story of Prascovia Lopouloff, but hardly less curious, considering it to be among the few records that have been gathered with respect to the private history, the sufferings, and the unexpected deliverance of exiles in Siberia. Cook and La Peyrouse have both excited a general interest towards an exile by the name of Iwasdekin, who, at the time these navigators visited the coast of Kamtschatka, was probably without any hope of ever recovering his liberty. But M. de Krusenstern gives us some details respecting this individual, long after he had obtained his pardon. Iwasdekin had, like Lopouloff, been banished on account of his participation in a conspiracy against the empress Elizabeth; but he was besides suspected of having abused the authority delegated to him in the capacity of superintendent of the district of Jakutsk, and of having committed a murder from the impulse of violent passions, which, as he seems himself to have confessed, he was not always able to control. The empress Catherine refused to grant him his liberty, notwithstanding the interest which Cook's account of his misfortunes must have raised in his favor, in the mind of a princess so desirous of gaining popularity, and so solicitous of showing her regard for men eminent in science and literature. It was not till the late emperor Alexander came to the throne, that he recovered his liberty, and obtained at the same time, the means of returning to St Petersburg. But he delayed his departure, and though often tempted to leave the place which reminded him of his long sufferings, he still remained in Siberia, and was found by our travellers enjoying indolent repose at a very advanced age. He had some momentary wishes to embark in the *Nadeshda*, but his age, as well as his habits from so long a residence in Siberia, must have prevented his accomplishing that design.

The *Nadeshda* left Awatcha bay on the 9th of October, for Macao, it being the same day on which Cook's vessels, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, sailed from that port twenty-six years before, destined for the same place.

Captain Krusenstern gives an account of Kamtschatka, its inhabitants and productions, and of the changes that had taken place since the time of Cook. In that period, the people had experienced a mournful diminution of their numbers. Upwards of five thousand died in the years 1800 and 1801. That great mortality was the result chiefly of an epidemic disease, which had its source for the most part in excessive labor and want. The aborigines of Kamtschatka impress us with the more interest, as their condition nearly resembles that of the natives of this country, and they are probably doomed to the same destiny. They are a people of great antiquity, probably the descendants of Mongolians, and have inhabited for many ages the country over which they are now scattered. Yet the description which is given of those Asiatic subjects of Russia by the author, raises them in moral dignity to a higher elevation, than in truth can be assigned to our Indians. Honesty and good nature are as prevailing traits of character among the former, as cunning and revenge among the latter. 'It is altogether impossible,' says M. de Krusenstern, 'for a people to be more honest than they are, and it is as rare to find a cheat among the Kamtschatdales, as a man of property. The burdens, which weigh the most heavily on that declining race of men, result from the want of regular communication by good roads, or by water. The Kamtschatdales are the mail carriers, the guides to travellers and messengers, and in some sort, also, the involuntary innkeepers of their country. They are required to furnish dogs for travelling, and generally feed without remuneration those which belong to the travellers. During the two or three summer months, they are obliged to row their boats whenever a soldier or any other itinerant calls on them. Their little household is far from prospering in such absences. It is somewhat consoling to learn, upon M. de Krusenstern's testimony, that the governor, who resided in Kamtschatka until the year 1808, endeavored to improve the condition of the people.

The Kamtschatdale women are much superior in beauty to the fair among our aborigines. Their shape is far from being ungraceful, their skin is delicate, and their feet and hands small. There is a great disproportion between the numbers of the sexes, both among the natives and the Russian inhabitants. 'At St Peter and St Paul there were not five and twenty females, for perhaps one hundred and eighty persons of the other sex.' And it is stated, that 'Ishiga is the only place in Kamtschatka

where the number of the women exceeds that of the men; and the reason assigned for this is, that most of the families are related to one another, and according to the laws of the Greek church, the most distant relations are not allowed to marry.' The governor encouraged the pilgrimages of the soldiers to that city, in the expectation that they would not only contract marriages, but improve their private manners by becoming thus united with the fair daughters of Ishiga.

The Kamtschatdales have few peculiar diseases, although they have few physicians, and not one was found at St Peter and St Paul. Frequent cases of ophthalmy may be ascribed to the continuance of snow for nine or ten months in the year. Malte-Brun mentions, we know not on what authority, the remarkable fact, that inoculation has long been used among them, and that they perform the operation by means of fish bones instead of lancets.

The description of St Peter and St Paul in the Russian account is very dismal, and may be expressed in two words, barrenness and depopulation. But further inland the country puts on a brighter aspect, at least in regard to provisions. On the borders of the Kamtschatka river, where rye, barley, buckwheat, and oats are cultivated with success, almost every species of garden stuff is also found to thrive. 'We received from thence,' says the author, 'not only potatoes and carrots, but cucumbers, lettuce, and very excellent cabbages. It has long since been proposed to introduce the different species of Siberian corn, which shoots up quickly, and soon ripens, and is consequently well calculated for this country, where the summers are short; such, for instance, as the Tartarian corn, the Siberian buckwheat, as also, instead of the European, the Siberian hemp.' Raspberries, strawberries, whortleberries, and several other kinds of similar fruits are in plenty towards the end of the summer, and furnish a palatable conserve for the winter. Reindeer, argalis (or wild sheep), wild ducks, geese, and hares are abundant. The inhabitants are in need of nothing so much as corn, timber, and salt. Gunpowder would be a great convenience to them, but the conveyance by land is difficult and dangerous, and the sale forbidden.

The climate of the peninsula of Kamtschatka is not excessively severe, and were it not for frequent fogs, it would be as healthy, and tolerable, as the greater part of the Russian empire. 'I passed,' says M. de Krusenstern, 'all the summer

months in Kamtschatka, during two years ; that is to say, the whole of June, a part of July, and the whole of August and September, and can affirm that in these four months, there were as many pleasant and cheerful days, as in any other place under the same latitude. The month of June was as beautiful as it can possibly be in the most favored climate ; and yet they consider this month as too early to till the land, although the snow has at that time quite disappeared from the mountains, and the earth is thoroughly thawed.' The social situation of that province affords proofs of the good effect, which remoteness, solitude, and mutual wants, have on the character of man ; and we must dissent from our author in considering this condition as a cause of the great mortality, that reigns both among the natives and the Russian inhabitants. No difference is observed between 'the life of the officer, the merchant, the priest, or the soldier. The one may indeed possess more money than the other, but as money is not held here in any estimation, this naturally produces a great equality in their rank, at least in their mode of living.' Nor does this operate against the discipline of the troops.

Siberia and the peninsula of Kamtschatka in particular, are better known than might be expected from their remoteness. Took, Coxe, King, Hermann, Gmelin, Georgi, and Pallas, have described the resources, the situation, and the natural features of Siberia, in the greatest detail. Malte-Brun has furnished a good epitome of those works, and the care he takes to refer to his authorities, adds to the merit of his abstract. More may be expected from the new edition of Richter's geography, a work, which, for the vast information it contains, has never yet been excelled.

The latest public account of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, is that of Captain John Dundas Cochrane, who represents its situation as still very deplorable. He remained in that country eleven months, and departed from it in July, 1822. His remarks on the climate coincide well enough with those of the Russian navigator. He describes the Kamtschatdales as a hospitable and honest people. The small number that remain of that ancient race, perhaps five hundred in the whole, reside on the northern coast beyond Tygil and Nishey Kamtschatka. The population of Kamtschatka is, according to the same traveller, four thousand five hundred and seventyfour individuals, of both sexes, and all ages, Russians, Kamtschat-

dales, and Koriacs. This eccentric pedestrian proposes several measures, which he thinks would promote the prosperity of Kamtschatka. That country had a special claim to his philanthropic interest, as he was captivated by the charms of one, we must suppose, of its fairest daughters. Yet of the marriage he speaks rather as an amateur of the curious and the rare, than as a doating and fond lover. 'The ceremony,' says he, 'was attended with much more pomp and parade than if it had been celebrated in England. It took place on the 8th of January, and I certainly am the first Englishman that ever married a Kamtschatdale, and my wife undoubtedly the first native of that peninsula that ever visited happy Britain.' With respect to the political administration, he points out two principal defects in the existing system; the one, that the seat of government is at St Peter and St Paul, which, were it but for the want of wood, can never become a considerable place; and the other, the shortness of the period which the persons called to the civil command of the province are disposed, or allowed to remain there. In the Spanish colonies, also, and particularly in those where civilization had made little progress, the frequent change of governors was long ago considered, by sagacious observers, as a great grievance to the inhabitants.

In throwing, as it were, a last longing glance at Siberia, Captain Cochrane says;

'Provisions and clothing are cheap; taxes are not known; the climate is healthy;—and what can man more desire? I looked again to the east, and bade adieu, thankful for the many marks of esteem and kindness which I had received from the hands of its hospitable people. Descending the western branch of the Ural mountains, I soon found myself again in Europe; the land of malt, the fireside home, again had charms for the traveller. The sensations I experienced upon quitting *the most favored quarter of the globe*, were nothing when compared to the present. Then I thought I was going only to the abode of misery, vice, and cruelty, while now I knew I had come from that of humanity, hospitality, and kindness. I looked back to the hills, which are, as it were, the barrier between virtue and vice, but felt in spite of it a desire to return, and end there my days; and so strong is still that desire, that I should not hesitate to bid adieu to politics, war, and other refined pursuits, to enjoy in Siberia, those comforts which may be had without fear of foreign or domestic disturbance.'

After making sufficient allowance for the enthusiastic temper of this traveller, we can easily believe, that Siberia deserves the

attention of the Russian government, and would rapidly prosper under a wise administration. While M. de Sparansky presided over the affairs of that vast country, many improvements were introduced ; and it seems, that his influence with the court, since his return to St Petersburg, has incessantly been directed towards the promotion of its prosperity.

We now return to the Russian navigators, and in accompanying them to the coast of China, we must pass over the numerous observations they made in those regions, tending to the improvement of geography and physical science. We can only add that no opportunity was lost to advance these great objects of the expedition. After a voyage of nearly two months the *Nadeshda* anchored in the road of Macao on the 20th of November.

The appearance of a Russian ship of war at Macao, was a perplexing event to the Chinese governor at Canton. It is evident from Lord Macartney's embassy, that besides the jealousy of the court of Peking towards other nations, and its aversion to entertain with them regular political relations, many difficulties in the way of establishing such relations arise, even without the immediate knowledge of the emperor, from the inferior authorities resident at Canton. These latter are always extremely alive to the danger of being denounced to their sovereign for their abuses, or as acting towards foreigners in contradiction to the orders of the court. The attentions and honors with which Lord Macartney's embassy was received at Peking, and along its journey, must chiefly be ascribed to its having landed in a port, where few foreign vessels had ever before been admitted, and to the vessel that carried the embassy having the exclusive and imposing character of a national ship of war. It may in justice be said, to the praise of the individuals who composed that diplomatic expedition, and of those who had regulated all the measures preparatory to it, that a greater success ought to have crowned an undertaking so ably conducted. The presents sent to Peking had surely a good influence on the minds of the Chinese, however disdainfully they seemed to look on them.

The *Nadeshda* appeared under quite different auspices. There was no ambassador of high rank on board ; no letter for the emperor ; no pomp, or long raised expectation. If England inspires the Chinese with apprehensions, by the vicinity of the British possessions in India to the Chinese fron-

tier ; if, particularly at the time when Lord Macartney arrived in China, resentment existed for a supposed cooperation of his government with their hostile neighbors, Russia must at all times excite much greater apprehensions in that suspicious and jealous nation. Besides, Russia having the privilege of entertaining commercial relations by land, and all trade by sea with Russia being expressly prohibited by the court of Peking to its subjects, there was neither ground nor pretext to favor unexpected guests, the object of whose visit was unknown. Yet by the friendly and efficient intervention of the British factors, all difficulties were removed, the cargoes of both the Russian vessels (for the *Neva* had rejoined the *Nadeshda* at Macao) were sold, and in return they were permitted to export products of the country, both operations being conducted through English merchants. However, at that time an embassy from the court of St Petersburg was in contemplation, and, upon the whole, it is very probable that the Russian expedition would not have experienced any real ill treatment from so cunning and wary a government, as that of China. It is almost certain that no order had been procured from Peking for detaining the vessels. M. de Krusenstern is, however, of a different opinion, and he insinuates that had the order been carried seriously into execution, he would have sustained by arms the dignity of his flag.

Without pretending to have been enabled to acquire a great deal of knowledge of the character of the Chinese, by his short stay at Canton, Captain Krusenstern thinks himself authorized by his personal observation to confirm Barrow's opinion of the moral inferiority of that country. He thinks, also, that its happiness is more apparent than real, and he infers, from the frequent insurrections which had broken out in it, even under the more energetic government of the Tartarian sovereigns, that it is destitute even of that repose, which is commonly the only blessing of countries governed by despotic rulers. He believes that a general revolution is, however, the less probable, because the population is so extensive, the country so vast, and nothing exists in the character and condition of the people, which is likely to bring forth men endued with the qualities necessary for directing a great national movement. In the repeated disturbances which have occurred, most of the conspirators have given themselves up to the power against which they had rebelled, and such only as were taken with arms in their hands have been excluded from the pardon usually granted to those who had joined in these undertakings.

We must refer the reader to the work itself, for the detail our author gives of the resources of the rebels in 1805, of the association of malecontents which then existed under the name of *Tien-tie-Koe*, or Heaven and Earth, and the *Pelieu-Kiao*, or enemies of the strange religion, and of the personal character of the reigning emperor. He also speaks of the state of the Christian religion in China, and the persecutions with which it was threatened.

His remarks respecting the commerce of the English, Dutch, Portuguese, and French with China, offer nothing that may be considered interesting for its novelty. The Spaniards carried on a commercial intercourse from the Philippine islands, which was, however, limited to one or two ships sent to Canton, and a few small vessels to Emey and the southeast coast of China. The Danish trade is conducted with great regularity and economy, but to a very small extent. The author's observations on the American trade with Canton are sufficiently accurate, but relate to an early period.

'The spirit of commerce,' says he, 'is perhaps nowhere greater than in America. Being skilful seamen, they man their ships with a smaller crew, in which respect it appears almost impossible to excel them. Their vessels are besides so admirably constructed, that they sail better than many ships of war, and I have known the captains of some of them at Canton, who have made the voyage thence to America and back again in ten months. While we were there, the ship *Fanny* arrived towards the latter end of December, which in the short space of twelve months, had sailed from Canton to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Lisbon, and thence again to Canton; so that she must have unloaded and taken fresh cargoes on board with an extraordinary rapidity. Besides, the return to Canton, owing to the contrary monsoon, could only be effected by the eastern passage, that is to say, by the northern part of the great ocean, round the *Pelew* islands. When we left Canton she was again perfectly ready for sea, on her intended return to Philadelphia, the whole term of her stay not having exceeded five weeks. The Americans avail themselves quickly of every advantage that is offered to them in trade; and we witnessed the arrival of one of their ships at Canton with a valuable cargo of sandal wood, which the captain had brought from the *Fidgees*, a group of islands, known as well for their situation, as for the cruelty of their inhabitants. Not one among them affords a safe anchorage; and in the month of December, 1804, an English ship was stranded on one of them, and the whole crew perished. The American, of which we are speaking, had run consid-

erable risk of falling a prey to the cruelty of the inhabitants. Some persons accompanied them from Tongataboo to the Fidjee islands, who were all murdered the moment they landed, with the exception of one man and woman, whom the Americans brought to China. Sandal wood is so scarce and so highly esteemed in China, that the captain, whose cargo cost him nothing but the trouble of felling it, disposed of it to a very great advantage.

‘Of all the different species of teas, the Americans, as well as the English, take only a very small quantity of the best. Of the green teas, the Americans take a particular kind of Hyson, which costs here from thirtysix to forty taels the picul; but the greater part of the teas which the English and the Americans carry from Canton is Congo and Bohea. The last is indeed the very worst that grows. The price of it at Canton is very low; only eleven or twelve taels the picul.’ p. 332.

In another place, the author observes with respect to teas;

‘There is never any difficulty in procuring a cargo of this latter article at Canton. The magazines of the Chinese merchants being overstocked with it, they not only sell it at a just and reasonable price, but take the goods of the purchaser at a high rate in return. If there be no particular cause of mistrust, the Chinese merchant readily advances a cargo of tea on credit, in order to get rid of it, and this induces the Americans to give the preference to this article, since it affords them the advantage of making a better bargain with the goods they import, and of being sooner despatched; an object of considerable importance at Canton, the stay there being attended with much expense, while the health of the crew is a good deal at stake.’ p. 331.

Captain Krusenstern enlarges on the advantages which Russia, and especially the Russian North American company, might derive from a commerce with Canton. He is persuaded that the Chinese government would not make much difficulty in admitting the merchant vessels of his nation on the same footing on which France, Sweden, and Denmark are permitted to carry on their trade. The organization and conduct of the Danish East India company is, according to him, a good model for the management of such a commerce. The importation of ordinary teas would be beneficial to the great mass of the Russian people, inasmuch as it would diminish their propensity for strong liquors.

On the 9th of February, 1806, both vessels under the command of Captain Krusenstern sailed from Whampoa, proceeding through the Chinese sea towards the straits of Gaspar.

The passage of these straits is said to be as safe as that of Banka, and shorter. Without meeting with any disaster, they arrived at St Helena. Here they found it difficult to procure flour, as the expedition sent to the Rio de la Plata under Sir Home Popham, and that to the Cape of Good Hope, had much lessened the usual resources of the island. Doctor Tilesius, the botanist, was not permitted to make an excursion in the interior of the island, in consequence of a recent discovery, that another foreigner, who had apparently come with the same purpose, had been occupied in drawing plans of the fortifications. The war that had broken out between Russia and France, obliged the expedition to avoid the privateers in the British Channel, by entering the North Sea through the passage between the Shetland and the Orkney islands.

After a passage from China of five months and twentyfour days, the *Nadeshda* reached Copenhagen. The crew and officers were in perfect health. On the 19th of August she arrived at Cronstadt, having been absent three years and twelve days. Not one of the crew had died; and the ship had not lost a mast or yard, anchor or cable. This is indeed a remarkable fact, considering that this was the first Russian voyage round the world, and becomes still more so, if compared with the fate of most of the French maritime expeditions, even when directed by officers whose scientific knowledge and skill cannot be questioned. In the Russian officers, such success proves extensive practice and intelligence, and in the crew, that patience, spirit of subordination, and quick apprehension, for which, indeed, the Russians of all classes are remarkable.

In throwing a general glance on the operations of the Russian expedition, we find that it fulfilled the expectations of its government, as far as it depended on the naval officers. The ill success of the embassy to Japan can only be ascribed to M. de Resanoff, if indeed the difficulty of treating with that country be not a sufficient plea for any failure. Russia has become by that expedition a coadjutor in the advancement of hydrography and geography. The Russian flag was made known to countries and people, that had no idea of Russia and its resources. The merit of an exact survey of the Washington islands is almost equal to the merit of their discovery. Some additional information has been obtained of various portions of the globe, and particularly of China, Great Japan, and Kamtschatka; some errors in hydrography, sanctioned by the

authority of distinguished navigators, as for instance La Pérouse, have been removed; and views of national and general improvement have been brought, in the most impressive and engaging manner, to the consideration of the Russian government.

The third volume of the account of M. de Krusenstern's expedition has not yet been translated either into English or French. It contains several valuable memoirs, written by the three scientific gentlemen, who accompanied him, namely, Doctor Horner the astronomer, Doctor Tilesius the naturalist and draftsman and Doctor Espenberg the physician.

The first memoir, by Doctor Tilesius, treats very amply of a natural object well known by sight to those who navigate between the tropics; we mean that beautiful and enigmatical water insect, commonly named the Portuguese man-of-war. This singular animal had several times been delineated, described, and endowed with names, yet not only its denominations were various, but also the nature and characteristics ascribed to it. According to some it was a Polypus, according to others a Zoophyte, and others ranged it among the Mollusca. Naturalists who followed in the steps of Linné, have called it the *Physalis*. Wonderful as are all the works of Providence, admirably fitted as are the several parts of each created being for their several functions, complex in their composition as they sometimes at first seem, while yet they are always found to be really so simple and suitable in their action, on a nearer investigation, we may, nevertheless, venture to rank this little animated creature among the most curious phenomena of nature. A worm between six and eight inches in length, which is found but in certain latitudes, has seemingly the skill and knowledge of an experienced navigator, and is in itself a little ship. Its evolutions are according to the winds; it raises and lowers its sail, which is a membrane provided with elevating and depressing organs. When filled with air it is so light, that it swims on the surface of alcohol, and is at the same time, provided with a structure, which furnishes it with the necessary ballast.

When high winds would endanger its existence, it descends into the deep, and is never seen on the surface of the water. From the under side of the body proceed fibres, which extend twenty feet in length, and are so elastic and delicate, that they wind in a spiral form like a screw, serving at once as anchors, defensive and offensive weapons, pneumatic tubes, and feelers.

The insect has the colors of the rainbow; its crest, which performs the office of a sail, is intersected with pink and blue veins, trimmed with a rosy border, and swells with the wind, or at the animal's pleasure. The fibres contain a viscous matter, which has the property of stinging like nettles, and produces pustules. It acts so strongly, that vessels in which they have been kept for a time must be repeatedly washed before they can be used. These fibres may be cut off without depriving them or the rest of the insect of the principle of life; and the separation takes place spontaneously, whenever the glutinous matter comes in contact with a hard surface, like the sides of a glass globe. The insect has, however, dangerous enemies in small dolphins, and medusæ, against which neither its nautical skill nor its poison can defend it. To the natural philosopher, this little animal is a curious exemplification of the principles of hydrostatics and of hygrometry, as its bladder is perhaps among the best substances that can be used for the delicate instruments of the latter science. To the physiologist it has the same importance as the rest of that class of beings, of which every part is endowed with an uncommonly strong principle of vitality, and which have therefore not improperly been called *biota* by Doctor Hill. To a contemplative mind, the wonderful organization of the *Physalis* must be a new proof that hardly any great effort of human ingenuity, perseverance, courage, and skill, is without a duplicate of more astonishing workmanship, simplicity, and sagacity, in beings coming from the hand of the Author of creation. If navigation is justly deemed the most daring enterprise of man, it may be considered as a remedy against pride to know that there exists a worm, which an all powerful Providence has at once made a navigator and a ship, a hydrostatic and pneumatic engine, a being destitute of mind, and yet one that watches the winds, and rides on the waves.*

Another paper by Doctor Tilesius is on the *Jocko*, or Orang Outang of Borneo. The author found a living specimen at Macao, in the possession of the Portuguese governor. It was as large as a child three or four years old. The *Jocko* is

* In Louis Choris's 'Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde,' (Paris, 1822,) is a delineation of the *Physalis*, but it gives an imperfect idea of the insect. M. Choris was the painter of Captain Kotzebue's expedition, which had principally for its object to explore the Mulgrave islands, and Behring's and Torres' Straits. Doctor Tilesius's Memoir on the *Physalis* occupies one hundred and eight quarto pages.

smaller than the Pongo, or Chipanzee, of Africa. Doctor Tilesius, being obviously a warm admirer of Doctor Gall's system, found the organ of observation strongly marked on the forehead of that monkey, and as strongly confirmed by its habits. It had a melancholy air, and was suspicious, but tame, tranquil, and of a gentle disposition. It examined everything curiously, approached the visitors, seized their hands, touched and inspected their dresses, climbed up their persons to coax and caress them, kissed its master and the Caffre who tended it, and showed its displeasure by shaking its head, and by distrustful side looks, but never by fierceness and malignity. Doctor Tilesius, in comparing the Caffre with the monkey, considered the first to be the very lowest of human creatures, and the Orang Outang the animal nearest to man in intellect. The African was a slave of the governor, and had no other business than to be keeper of the 'wild man of the wood.' The author does not countenance the wonderful accounts of the Jocko, in which this creature has been said by some travellers to light a fire and exercise the culinary arts; nor does his description approach the astonishing tale of Grandpré respecting a Pongo, or Cujoe, which was a skilful sailor, and almost displayed mental faculties. We have not room to analyze or examine Doctor Horner's memoirs on the temperature of the sea, at different depths, and in different places, on the specific weight of sea water, and on the oscillations of the barometer, although they are ingenious, and apparently the results of numerous and careful observations. We must also pass over the paper by Doctor Espenberg on the health of the ship's company, and the two memoirs of M. de Krusenstern, the one on currents at sea, and the other on the tides in the harbor of Nangasaky.*

* That the temperature of the sea diminishes at a certain depth, has long since been observed; and the subject has been examined after the ordinary method of experiment and induction by distinguished philosophers, and principally by R. Foster; but the law of decrease has not been yet well ascertained. Doctor Horner presumes from his own experiments that the temperature of the ocean ceases to change at seven hundred and twenty feet below the surface, in latitude 23° N. where it is in June $13^{\circ} 3'$ Reaumur; in the sea of Japan, in latitude 27° , at six hundred feet, where the thermometer is in November 3° Reaumur; in the Atlantic, in latitude 30° , at six hundred and sixty feet, the temperature being in June $13^{\circ} 5'$; and in the sea of Ochotzk, in latitude 43° , at one hundred and fifty feet, where the temperature is in August $1^{\circ} 5'$. This latter fact would prove that the solar rays have not a con-

It is strange that the *Atlas*, destined to accompany the *German* original account of the voyage, should have the explanations in the *Russian* language. The English and French publishers have forborne to risk the expense of republishing so large a collection of maritime views, portraits, sketches, landscapes, and representations of all sorts of objects, yet they might have given some charts, which would have proved valuable not more to geographers than to navigators. The *Atlas* is one of the most voluminous that has ever been annexed to the account of a nautical expedition. It contains about one hundred and forty plates, the most valuable of which are charts and maritime views. A few other sketches are curious; some of the designs relative to natural history are not uninteresting; but the draughtsman might have left in his portfolio his other performances, and particularly the repetitions of the same object, as for instance, the *Tomb of Captain Clerke*, the *Monkey of Borneo with the Caffre*, and the several skulls, drawn for the gratification, we suppose, of craniologists. The portraits of savages and half savages might also have been more sparingly introduced. We advise all such persons, as expect to find models of beauty among uncivilized men, to look at the *Kamtschatdales*, *Kurilians*, *Tartars*, and others exhibited in this *Atlas*, except the natives of *Nukahiva*, who, in spite of their *tattoo*, bear out the author's assertion of the nobleness of their stature, and the symmetry and elegance of their forms. The *Atlas*, however, bespeaks royal munificence, and if we find fault with the superabundance of plates, it is because of the obstacles which it throws in the way of the circulation of the work among those, for whose instruction and use it was chiefly designed.*

stant, equal, and determinining influence upon the temperature of the sea. According to Bouguer, they penetrate six hundred and seventy-eight feet, and the heat extends perhaps a little further, though seawater is a bad conductor of it.

Doctor Horner combats the theory of the bottom of the sea being a mass of ice, on the ground that water does not freeze as long as it contains any heterogeneous substance; and supposing it to relinquish its salts, the strata, whose specific weight is thus diminished, would, instead of sinking and turning into ice, rise into the higher and warmer regions. Our author is rather inclined to presume that the bottom of the sea consists of beds of salt.

* We may here mention the *Hydrographical Chart of the World*, separately published by M. de Krusenstern. The original title is *Allge-*

Thus far our remarks have been applied to the *Voyage* of Commodore Krusenstern, and the *Memoirs* attached to it, all published in three volumes, and in three different years, as will be seen by consulting the first title at the head of this article. The English translation is in two volumes, but this is incomplete, the *Memoirs*, as well as the *Atlas*, being omitted. We now proceed to another work by the same author, on the vocabularies of several Asiatic languages, which has never been translated from the original German.

These vocabularies are founded on data collected by several officers of the Russian navy. Lieutenant Davidoff, who was in the service of the Russian American company, and had made two voyages to the Northwest coast of America, furnished to M. de Krusenstern the vocabulary of the Aimos. This officer was sent with two armed vessels, by M. Resanoff, the appointed envoy to Japan, on an expedition against some Japanese, who had settled on the Kuriles, and in the bay of Anewa and Romansoff. Most of them were destroyed. This success did not, however, avail him much with his mandator, for the latter pretended that he had expressly recommended to him to proceed with mildness and moderation. Davidoff and his companion, Chwostoff, were thrown into prison on their return to Ochotzk, not by any command of the court, but by the will of the chief of that local government. Such an expedition, as M. de Krusenstern well observes, could not bring the Russians into favor with the Japanese government. The prisoners escaped, and took refuge at Jakutsk, having passed the distance of a thousand versts from Ochotzk, through marshes and forests, without means or assistance, and obliged to wander out of the road to avoid being discovered by those, who might have been sent in pursuit of them. They were not molested by the authorities of Jakutsk, and soon after their arrival in that city they were called to St Petersburg, and the governor of Ochotzk was dismissed, and delivered up to a court of justice. They served afterwards with much distinction during the war against Sweden, in the army of Count Buxhöfen. On their return to the Russian metropolis, they were walking together late one

meine Welt-Charte, nach Mercators Projection entworfen von A. I. de Krusenstern, Cap. der Russischen Marine. London. 1815. To this he has since added the results of Captain Parry's researches. It contains the routes of several other expeditions, and is creditable to the author for its accuracy and handsome execution.

evening over the bridge across the Nèva, when the drawbridge was up for the passage of vessels. At that time a vessel was lying between two of the bridge boats. Chwostoff, in attempting to leap from one boat to another, fell by accident into the water. His faithful friend sprang after him, and struggled to save him, but both were carried away by the rapidity of the stream and drowned.*

Of the Aimos language but a few words had been collected, until Davidoff formed his vocabulary, which consists of nearly two thousand. The vocabulary of the Tschuktchi was composed by L. Koscheleff, on an expedition to that tribe.† The great philologist, Frederick Adelung, has not only revised these vocabularies, but compared them with the manuscript vocabularies of two other dialects as little known. He remarks in some notes inserted in the work before us, that the Tschuktchi, whose vocabulary has been collected by Koscheleff, are that branch of the tribe of that name, who inhabit the coast of Oriental Asia, and the promontory of Tschutschoi-noss. He adds that he has compared it with the one formed by Doctor Mesk, the physician of Captain Billings's expedition, which is contained in a comparative dictionary of seven dialects, taken from the languages of the Tschuktchi, Kamtschatdales, and Kuriles.

We have next the vocabularies of the Koljinchén and Kinaïs. The former of these is a tribe on the Northwest coast of America, opposite the Silka islands, but whose regular residence is not known with more certainty than that of most of the other tribes settled on that coast. Davidoff had collected these materials, which may yet be of utility for a history of the origin of the population of America. Adelung has compared them with a collection of about twelve hundred expressions obtained by Resanoff, and belonging to the idioms of Unalashka, Kinai, Tchugag, Ugallachmus, and Koljusch.

For the following remarks on this subject, we are indebted to the well known philologist of our own country, Mr Du Ponceau.

* There is a more extensive biography of both these officers in the preface, prefixed to Davidoff's Voyage to America, by the admiral and secretary of state, Tscheschkoff. Davidoff was a well informed officer, as well in the practice as in the theory of his profession; and had a taste for science and literature.

† He procured a skull of a Kamtschatdale, which is now in the possession of the eminent anatomist, Loder. The Kamtschatdales have such a reverence for the deceased, that it was very difficult to procure one.

‘Since it has been ascertained that one nation, at least, clearly of American origin exists on the continent of Asia, the investigation of the languages of the different tribes which inhabit the opposite coasts of the two continents is become a matter of the highest interest to philosophy, anxious to trace as far back as possible, the course of population on the globe which we inhabit. A people, whose various dialects bear such strong affinity to each other, as to leave no doubt that they are all derived from the same source, and who are also connected by a similarity of color and conformation of their bodies, and by similar habits, manners, and customs, under the names of Greenlanders, Eskimaux, and Tschuktschi, are found to extend themselves from the island of Greenland in the vicinity of Europe, across the northern continent of America to the peninsula, which bears their name on the eastern coast of Asia. All writers agree in considering the sedentary Tschuktschi, who inhabit the peninsula called by the Russians *Tschuktskoi Noss*, and extend themselves southward to the banks of the river Anadir, as a people of American origin, which is evidenced by their complexion, their bodily appearance, their manners, customs, habits, and finally their language, which is a dialect of the Eskimaux, the same people who inhabit the opposite shore in the vicinity of Norton Sound,* not far from the Straits of Behring, which divide the two continents.

‘In order to show the great affinity of these languages, as we have not room for long specimens, we shall only instance a few of the numerals in each of them.

Greenland. Eskimaux. Norton Sound. Tschuktschi.

1, Attousek,	Attouset,	Adowjak,	Atashek.
2, Arlak,	Mardluk,	Aiba,	Malgok.
3, Pingajuah,	Pingasut,	Pingashook,	Pigajut.
4, Sissamat,	Sissamat,	Shetamik,	Ischtamat.
5, Tellimat,	Tellimat,	Dallamik,	Tatlimat.

‘These specimens are taken from Cook’s third voyage, and from the work under review. We might easily multiply similar instances of affinity between these languages, which leave no doubt of their being dialects of the same mother tongue.

‘From a fact of this importance, it was natural to expect similar affinities between other languages of the nations inhab-

* Mithridates, vol. III, part 3d, p. 462. Cochrane’s Pedestrian Tour, p. 203.

iting the eastern shores of Asia and the western coast of America, but this expectation has hitherto been disappointed. Admiral Krusenstern, however, who does not profess to be a philologist, collected vocabularies of two Asiatic and two American languages, which he intended as an appendix to the relation of his voyage, but not having received them time enough to subjoin them to his great work, he has published them separately for the benefit of the learned. Some of them had been already published in Russia, others he received in manuscript from sources which he considered sufficiently authentic.

‘The vocabularies which he thus published are those of the languages of the Aimos and Tschuktschi, who inhabit the coast of Asia, and of the Koliushes and Kinai, who live on the opposite shores of America. From as close an examination as we have been able to give to these vocabularies, which are very copious, we have not been able, except in the instance of the Tschuktschi, to find any resemblance or affinity between the Asiatic and American idioms; the language of Greenland and the Eskimaux seems as yet to be the only one that has penetrated into Asia, and we have no evidence that any one of the numerous languages spoken on the Asiatic coast has made its way into our continent.

‘The language of the Rein-deer Tschuktschi, who live to the southward of the sedentary, whom we will call the *American Tschuktschi*, speak a language entirely different, closely connected with that of their southern neighbors the Koriacs, who, as well as themselves, are of Asiatic origin.

‘It must be observed, however, that hitherto we have only been enabled to compare the languages of the people who inhabit the opposite coasts of Asia and America, by means of vocabularies, and we have not been made acquainted by grammars or otherwise with the grammatical forms and construction of the former. It is very much to be wished that the learned of the Russian empire would obtain and communicate to the world some information on this interesting subject, by which we may be enabled to institute a closer comparison between the languages of the two continents.’

We shall add but few words concerning Admiral Krusenstern’s last publication, the *Recueil de Mémoires Hydrographiques*. This work was published at the expense of the Russian government, and very wisely in a language more familiar to maritime nations, than the Russian or German. Its object is

to aid navigators in their passage through the great Southern, or Pacific Ocean. The Atlas, which accompanies this first volume, is a collection of charts on a large scale, of the several groups of islands scattered in that wide expanse of waters. Those of Arrowsmith, and of the Hydrographical Board of Madrid, have the defect of being on too small a scale; and those of Cook, Vancouver, and D'Entrecasteaux are incomplete in what regards the northern part of the Pacific; and they are, moreover, in the hands of few navigators, owing to the great cost of the works to which they are annexed. Most of those charts are likewise *general maps*. It has been M. de Krusenstern's earnest endeavor to fulfil conscientiously (for he really considered it a responsible undertaking) the task of furnishing the best and surest *special charts*. He indicates the public and the inedited materials upon which he has relied, discusses the respective merits of these when they are contradictory, and gives the reasons why some are preferred by him to others, coming from authorities equally respectable. Thus his work is the history, the abridged repository of numerous surveys, and a report on the actual state of hydrographical knowledge of the Great Ocean, according to the details scattered in almost all the books published throughout Europe. The method which he adopted has led him to discover the identity of many islands and rocks, which are duplicate and sometimes triplicate on maps, in consequence of a defective classification of the several groups. He therefore not only enables the navigator to avoid real dangers, but also puts an end to imaginary ones, which owed their existence to incorrect information. The second volume, which is not yet published, will treat of the northern portion of the Great Ocean, and be accompanied by the corresponding charts. The author intended to bring it before the public during the last or the present year, but we have not yet heard of its appearance.

The question what Spain had done for the advancement of knowledge was put by a *savant* of the name of Mason, and Cavanilles had good nature enough to write a large book to answer that pert and flippant querist. Not long since, it was as comically asked, Who reads an American book? It would, therefore, be no wonder, if it were the pleasure of some critic in his splenetic humor to put similar queries in regard to Russia. Yet, as to scientific voyages and travels, countenanced or supported by governments alone, we should be tempted

to rank Russia next to England, and at all events, concede to her equal claims with France. It would be sufficient to point to Coxe's Travels, (facetiously called by the author of the Pursuits of Literature, 'Switzer-Russico-Kamtschatka Coxe,') and to Malte-Brun's 'Chronological Table of Discoveries in Siberia;' to cite Krusenstern's, Kotzebue's, Billingshausen's, Wassilief's, and Wrangel's expeditions; and to rely on the assurance of the first of these distinguished officers, that in 1824, 'there were not less than four expeditions in the Pacific Ocean, all of which were connected with science.'* New discoveries in that sea, and the survey of the neighboring coasts of the Russian empire, are the task of the two vessels, the *Moller* and the *Seniavin*,† which were equipped in the course of the last summer, and of which Captain Stanjy Kowitsch and Captain Litke are the commanders. The vessels of that expedition will operate together until they reach the most southern Russian settlement on the Northwest coast of this continent. One of them will then pursue the survey of that coast, and of the Aleutian islands, while the other will range, as far as practicable, the eastern coast of Russian Asia. In the course of the coming autumn, they will meet again in the harbor of St Peter and St Paul. The following winter will be spent in exploring the Caroline Islands, and as soon as this object shall have been accomplished, and the season will permit, the expedition will complete the survey of the Ochotzk sea. The employment of the vessels during the winter of 1828-9, will keep them near the Solomon Islands and the Moluccas; and after having finished the survey of that archipelago, they are to return to Russia by the Cape of Good Hope. At the present moment they must have finished their operations in the Society Islands, and have touched at the Sandwich Islands, and at Silka; and they are perhaps already engaged on the coasts of Kamtschatka and the Northwest portion of our continent.

We hope to be able shortly to give an account of another contribution of the Russian government to the extension of geographical knowledge, in a recent embassy to Bukharia.

By the maritime expeditions of Russia, to which we have referred in the present article, that great empire appears almost

* Mémoires Hydrogr. Introduction, p. ix.

† The third son of Admiral Krusenstern is among the young officers of this vessel. The Admiral, we are informed, has been appointed by the emperor, second director of the corps of marine cadets.

to verify one of Burton's projects for a 'Utopia of his own;' 'a new Atlantis, a poetical commonwealth of mine own; I will have certain ships sent out for new discoveries every year;' and the Russians may be said to have more than deserved the eulogium of Boterus, quoted by the same quaint, witty, and learned author; '*Tam hyeme quàm æstate intrepidè sulcant Oceanum; et duo illorum duces, non minore audaciâ quàm fortunâ, totius orbem terræ circumnavigârunt.*'

ART. II.—1. *Vindication of H. D. Sedgwick, with some Inquiries respecting the Award in the Case of the Greek Frigates.*

2. *A Narrative of the material Facts in Relation to the Building of the two Greek Frigates.* By ALEXANDER CONTOSTAVLOS, an Agent of the Greek Government. Second edition. *With a Postscript.*

3. *Report of the Evidence and Reasons of their Award between Johannis Orlandos and Andreas Luriottis, Greek Deputies, of the one Part, and Le Roy, Bayard, & Co. and G. G. & S. Howland, of the other Part.* By THE ARBITRATORS.

4. *An Exposition of the Conduct of the two Houses of G. G. & S. Howland, and Le Roy, Bayard, & Co. in Relation to the Frigates Liberator and Hope, in Answer to a Narrative on that Subject, by Mr Alexander Contostavlos.* By WILLIAM BAYARD.

5. *Refutation of the Reasons assigned by the Arbitrators for their Award in the Case of the Greek Frigates.* By H. D. SEDGWICK.

6. *An Examination of the Controversy between the Greek Deputies and two Mercantile Houses of New York; together with a Review of the Publications on the Subject, by the Arbitrators, Messrs Emmett & Ogden, and Mr William Bayard.* By JOHN DUER and ROBERT SEDGWICK.

THE subject of the series of pamphlets just named is too important to be wholly pretermitted in this journal. We took an early opportunity to endeavor to awaken an interest in the

cause of Greece, among our fellow citizens, and have never ceased to watch, with solicitude, the progress of the great struggle, of which that singular and interesting land is the theatre. Before bringing to a close the remarks, which we intend at this time to offer to our readers, we shall state some circumstances which justify and prompt a continued sympathy with the Greeks, in this their anxious struggle for freedom. But we deem it a preliminary duty to make a few observations on the subject of the pamphlets before us.

It is not our purpose to enter into an analysis of the contents of these pamphlets, nor to relate the history of the controversy of which they are the vehicle. An extensive circulation has brought them, no doubt, directly to the knowledge of many of our readers, and an able digest and examination of their contents, has already been submitted to the public, in the pages of a contemporary journal of the highest respectability, the *American Quarterly Review*. Inasmuch, however, as the transactions connected with the Greek frigates, are of a nature to produce an effect on the American character abroad, and have already attracted the attention and become the subject of the comments of the foreign press, it is proper that the American press, in its various departments, should not pass them without notice. If we, as Americans, condemn the transactions which form the subject of these pamphlets, it is proper we should say so, and put it out of the power of foreign detractors to allege that such things occurred among us unnoted and uncondemned.

And yet it is not without embarrassment and pain, that we give utterance to our feelings and impressions on this subject. In the construction of the Greek frigates, two mercantile houses of the first respectability, in New York, were employed. To either of them, we should, if called upon, have implicitly confided the management of much more extensive transactions; and to any impeachment of the good faith and liberality of either of them, we should have turned an incredulous ear. The transactions, moreover, were various and complicated; and the agency of the two houses not in all respects the same. To one of them may be justly ascribed the lead and governing spirit of these transactions; as from that house also has emanated a peremptory defence of them, even in those particulars, at which the public sentiment of the country has most revolted. It is scarcely possible, in speaking of the matter, to avoid con-

founding the two houses, although we apprehend the public feeling has justly made a decided discrimination between them, as to the share of censure, which belongs to each. At the same time, events, to which we are not justified in making more particular allusion, have occurred, since the termination of this affair, of a nature to disarm of much of its severity the temper, in which we should otherwise pass sentence on its character.

We have never, for a moment, listened to an imputation of fraud. A looseness and irregularity in some important transactions, as the insurance item from Georgetown, we have indeed noticed. It also seems difficult to resist the conclusion, that various persons employed by the houses to do work or furnish supplies, were allowed by the houses an enormous pay and compensation, the commission on which, charged by the houses in their own favor, is certainly not reconcilable with the rules of a delicate morality. Farther than this, however, we are not willing to go. We apprehend that nothing fraudulent, in the common acceptance of that term, was practised or intended; and that the whole transaction was designed to be brought within the bounds of ordinary commercial honesty, where every party is expected to take care of itself.

The great charge against the houses is, that after having in substance solicited the employment (considering the Messrs Bayards as representing the two houses), after having held out to the Greek deputies the promise of economy, after having furnished them with estimates (which, if not designed to regulate the expectations formed of the necessary expense, were worse than useless,—were a positive imposition), after having abandoned a plan of building by contract, and adopted, as *cheaper* that of day's work (a mode of building, which we believe to be without a precedent in our ship yards), the houses should, nevertheless have run up the expense of each of these white oak frigates, fifty per cent above that of a live oak ship of the line of the first order; should have charged an excessive commission on these their monstrous disbursements; should have pursued a harsh and unfriendly course to compel the payment of demands, afterwards pronounced, by the arbitrators, unfounded; should have thrown obstacles in the way of the Greek agent, sent out to extricate the affair from the difficulties into which it was plunged; and wound up with the most atrocious libels on all those who had acted against them, as the opposite parties in the transaction, and passionate appeals to the public for sympathy, as wronged and suffering men.

The only reply attempted to any part of this charge, is, that no fraud has been committed,—no monies have been charged as paid which were not paid; and that the work has been well and faithfully done. We will admit all this to be the case, notwithstanding the very large sum of money which was needed to send the *Hellas* to sea, after she came from the hands of the houses, and notwithstanding the certificate of Captain Gregory, as to the state in which he found that vessel. The charge is, that, after soliciting this employment from motives of sympathy in the cause of the Greeks, and parading an expression of feeling toward this people, the transaction should have been made the occasion of the very highest rate of commercial profit, and that charges to the amount of over a hundred thousand dollars should have been made, of such a character as to be disallowed by arbitrators, who certainly will not be accused of abandoning the interest of the houses. By one of the houses, that agency was invited; it was accepted with warm protestations of zeal for the Greek cause. And yet we find charges of ten per cent commissions on disbursements made of cash already in bank to meet them; we read of enormous damages on protested bills, not authorized to be drawn, not sold in this country, and not required to meet any expenditure which had taken place; and worse than all, we meet with a *talk* of a commission on the sale to the government of the United States of one of these frigates; a sale, which the party, who talked of charging the commission, had done nothing to effect, and much to obstruct. If, in all this, it be said there is no fraud, we answer, be it so; but we must add, at the same time, there is no liberality, no love for struggling liberty, none of the fine sentiment which had been professed.

We should, however, have been less concerned, if our censures could have been confined to the houses. But we are obliged to add, that we deem the conduct of the counsel for the houses, in some respects, and that of the arbitrators, throughout, equally open to exception. As the great error of the houses was, after making professions of sentiment, to come down and turn the whole affair into an ordinary business of money making, so we conceive it the error of the highly respectable counsel for the houses, that they could not emancipate themselves, on this occasion, from the influence of mere professional maxims of conduct, as commonly understood and practised. Messrs Ogden and Emmett received each a fee of

fifteen hundred dollars, as counsel for the two houses before the arbitrators, as we are informed by the arbitrators themselves. We believe that professional duty, as commonly understood, obliges counsel to engage in any cause, in which their assistance is asked. Counsel, it is said, must not undertake to pre-judge a cause. Once engaged, we believe it is the duty of counsel to say, not what they think, feel, or know, as individual men; but anything, and everything, which can be urged, with plausibility, on the side for which they are retained. All this may be very well. In most cases litigated, the great cause of humanity, liberality, and of conscience, in which all lawyers, and all good men, ought to consider themselves as retained, may remain unaffected, in the conflict of opposite counsel plausibly arguing the pro and the con of the issue. But we conceive that this cannot be said of the course pursued by at least one of the eminent counsel employed by the houses. If that gentleman is not misreported (and he cannot blame us, if we take for admitted the correctness of an uncontradicted report made by responsible gentlemen), he urged on the arbitrators to award in favor of the houses, on the ground, that Greece was not interested in the award; that it was the affair of speculating agents; that Greece was already sacrificed; and that the clamor raised by her pretended friends, was that of foul birds, screaming for their portion of the carcass. Was this liberal? Was it merciful? Was it true?

Mr Emmett, may tell us, indeed, it was a forensic flourish; that he meant merely to produce an effect on the minds of the arbitrators, which it was the duty of the counsel for the Greek deputies to counteract; that he left it to the latter gentlemen to state the fact, that Greece *was* most deeply interested in the award; that an award in favor of the houses would deprive that country of almost its last hope; and that the parties which now appeared in behalf of Greece were not (as unjustly represented by the gentleman with a fee of fifteen hundred dollars in his pocket) mercenary harpies, clamoring for a portion of the plunder of their country, but patriotic and honorable citizens, contending in a foreign land, against fearful odds and most high handed injustice. We say, all this does not satisfy us; and we do not admit that it was right or becoming for the counsel of the houses, to indulge in insinuations against the honesty of the opposite party. They had reason to be content with acting on the defensive there. Still less, in our humble judgment, did it

become the senior counsel for the houses, in a portion of the joint address of himself and his colleague, which he published on his individual responsibility, to wage war on the unprotected stranger entrusted with the affairs of Greece in this country, with allusions to worn out proverbs and idle traditionary calumnies. It seems that when ancient Greece had been overrun and subjugated by the Romans, and its inhabitants reduced, from the condition of an independent to that of a tributary people, groaning under tyranny at home and slavery in the land of their new masters, the Romans, with equal liberality and knowledge of human nature, thought fit to propagate the maxim, that there was 'no faith in a Greek.' With the Romans, this ingenious device of damning the conquered Greeks, in an adage, had not even the merit of novelty, for they had already found out, under the same circumstances, that Punic faith was also suspicious. They were in both cases the plagiarists of honest Æsop, whose fable placed the lion wounded and abject, at the hunter's feet. In the pages of Juvenal these sarcasms are in place. He did not treat Greeks worse than he did Romans, or the human race in general. But what shall we say of sober jurists, after a lapse of two thousand years, long enough, one would think, for the prejudices of nations to die away, reviving these stale Roman proverbs, as grave topics of argument in a practical question, at the present day; casting suspicions on Mr Contostavlos's veracity, because he is a Greek, and because the Romans could not trust the Greek slaves, whom they had dragged from their homes in Attica, and chained to their door posts and work benches? What shall we say of this when done, not merely in the course of argument at bar, in which, as already observed, counsel are not understood to speak in their individual capacity; but in an address to the public, through the columns of a newspaper, with the sanction of a name; against a foreigner, partially acquainted with our language, and friendless, except so far as his cause has gained him friends; when done, in fine, by an individual, himself a foreigner, himself an exile from a wronged, oppressed, insulted, country; himself obnoxious to the stale national sneers and the proverbial sarcasms, of all who can find it in their hearts to indulge in this species of warfare?

With regard to the arbitration, we have no wish to revive the recollection of that burst of feeling, which pervaded the continent, on the subject, especially when it was heard, that

although the award was against the houses to an enormous extent, the arbitrators had assigned themselves out of the Greek fund alone, and for a few days' service, a handsome year's salary. On the supposition, that the arbitrators were all men of very high respectability in the community, we can point to men as respectable, all over the United States, whose annual salary, in offices of trust, honor, and responsibility, does not exceed what these gentlemen awarded to each of themselves, for about twenty days' service on this arbitration. We well remember when the tidings of this award reached our humble metropolis of the north, with what feelings it was heard. Not a man believed it; the report was universally treated as a libel; the friends of Greece were cautioned against taking up slanders, which would react on themselves. Such, however, was the charge; fifteen hundred dollars to each of the arbitrators, *as such*, for so they express themselves. Risk they ran none; they could not, from the nature of things; and were fortified against any, by a written release from the opposite party.

But we conceive that this is far from being the most unpleasant feature of the arbitration. In the course of the proceedings before the arbitrators, one of those gentlemen fell into an altercation with one of the counsel of the deputies, and the offensive remarks made by the former were retorted by the latter. This proved the signal for the son of the arbitrator (who with other spectators was present) to attempt to strike Mr Sedgwick, which he was prevented from doing, solely by the interference of the gentlemen near. After ineffectually repeating his attempt, he was checked by his parent, the senior arbitrator, with the intimation that 'he had done enough.' Enough for what? Enough, in the opinion of the young gentleman, to make it necessary for Mr Sedgwick to send him a challenge; which Mr Sedgwick having the firmness not to do, drew down upon himself a fresh visitation of insult in the newspapers, in which it was apparently hinted that any other mode of proceeding, than that by wilful murder, would be deemed out of taste in New York, on such an occasion. Whether the young man was thought by his father, to have done enough in this way also, does not appear. These are occurrences to which we allude with pain. But they are of more dangerous tendency, than any other connected with the whole transaction. Notoriety and the public press will afford a remedy for the original

evil of the case ; but if respectable citizens, husbands, fathers, and Christians, ably and honorably discharging a professional duty to a helpless stranger, are to be first assaulted, and then involved in the necessity of murdering or being murdered, the press itself will be intimidated ; men of peace struck dumb, and injustice and oppression left without a check. Of the persons whose conduct we now censure, we privately know nothing and say nothing. Of their deportment before the public we take leave to speak in the language due to truth and justice. We deem it not the less due to truth and justice, to bear witness to the zeal, fidelity, and success, with which a most arduous duty was discharged by the Messrs Sedgwick and their associates, Messrs Duer and Robinson. They have deserved well of the cause of humanity, to an extent, which it is rarely in the power of the most benevolent and active to go, in their efforts to do good.

But we forbear to dwell on these painful transactions. It has been our duty to unite our voice to that of the American press in general, in pronouncing a sentence of unqualified reprobation of them. We repeat, however, what we have already hinted, that we are disposed to make great and favorable discriminations between the conduct of the two houses ; on one of which, perhaps, no other blame rests, than that of partial acquiescence ; a blame mitigated by a commendable deference to public opinion, as subsequently expressed.

A far more important, though closely connected topic, is, the probable fortune of the country and the cause, for the defence of which this ill starred enterprise was undertaken. With what prospects are the Greeks pursuing their present struggle ? and what is the duty of the civilized world toward them ?

If we argued on the prospects of the Greeks merely *a priori*, we should pronounce it impossible, that so small and feeble a portion of the Turkish empire could succeed, in a conflict with the government. But this reasoning is now out of season, in reference to the present contest. It might have been expected that the Greeks would have been crushed in the first, second, or third campaign. A longer period than this, it could scarcely require, to bring the whole power of the government into its most concentrated and efficient action against them. Three campaigns, however, passed, and the insurrection was no nearer being crushed than at its commencement. It was the case,

however, that in these campaigns the Porte had not brought its whole power to bear on the Greeks. The peculiar nature of the Turkish government,—substantially that of viceroys almost independent of the nominal head, makes it difficult to put at once into motion the entire amount of the reputed force of the empire. It was not till the fourth campaign, that the Porte was able to bring into the field the most powerful of its subject princes, the bey of Egypt. This skilful ruler, it would seem, took time to deliberate, before he permitted his son to embark with the strength of his principality, in the doubtful enterprise of invading Greece. But when, at length, the first Egyptian expedition was fairly landed in the Morea, it must be conceded that the Porte had made as great an effort, as it could possibly make, to crush the revolt. The Egyptian troops were composed of veterans, trained in the recent wars against the Wechabites and the chiefs of the Upper Nile. They were led, in part at least, by European officers; and every thing that could be effected by a preponderating military strength, ought to have been, and in fact was effected by Ibrahim Pacha, in his first campaign. But at the close of this and two succeeding campaigns, and after five successive reinforcements from Egypt, the war is no nearer a probable termination, than on the first day that hostilities commenced. The Egyptians are able to march at pleasure, through the open country; but, except in the single case of Missolonghi, have effected nothing without the bounds of the Morea, and within it, they have not found themselves in strength to attempt the reduction of Napoli.

Meantime, what has been the effect of this protracted conflict upon the Egyptian forces? Not a man surely has returned to Egypt, and after five reinforcements, it does not appear, that Ibrahim is in greater force than when he landed. The support of his army must be a dead weight, principally, on his father's treasury. The system of the Porte does not know of such a thing, as the payment of troops from the Sultan's coffers. The Pacha, who leads them to the field, must provide for them as he can. The soil of Greece herself can, in the present state of the country, yield scarcely anything, toward the support of the invading army. Egypt is not in a condition to export provisions to any extent; and no resource remains to the Egyptian army, but direct purchase from the neutral powers, principally the Austrians. What means can the bey of Egypt have of supporting, for any considerable number of years, this

war of dollars, for such it has now become, as far as the Turks are concerned? Their invading armies have made no effectual impression; their fleets are unable to hold the brave little squadrons of the Greeks in check; the partizans and guerillas of the patriots hang upon the flanks and rear of the Egyptian army, wherever it moves; the old men, the women, and the children have been transported to the islands or to the fastnesses of the mountains, where, with the sustenance derived from their sheep and goats, they have as yet bid defiance, not merely to the barbarian enemy, but to the still more pressing approach of famine; and no way, in fact, remains, by which the country can be subdued, by the unaided powers of the Turkish government, but starvation; and this weapon, thank Heaven, they will not be permitted to employ.

It was a propitious circumstance, connected with the revolution in Greece, that the year before it commenced, an attack was made by the Porte, on its most powerful vassal, the Pacha of Yanina. Had events precipitated the commencement of the revolution in Greece, so that it should have burst forth, before the rupture of Ali Pacha with the Porte, there is scarce a doubt, that this powerful prince would have been wielded as an instrument, for the effectual suppression of the insurrection. His interest and policy would have enlisted him in the cause. That of the Sultan would not less strongly have dictated the employment, in this difficult and exhausting service, of a chieftain, too powerful for quiet submission; and though the event might have been, in the first instance, the severance of Greece from the jurisdiction of the Porte, and the erection of a new monarchy, under Ali Pacha, yet the revolt could not probably but have been promptly crushed and terribly punished. The Morea, in 1775, was all but desolated, by letting loose upon it twentyfive thousand Albanians, after its desertion by the Russians; and a like catastrophe would have been of most probable occurrence, had the turn of affairs permitted the Porte to employ Ali against the rebellious Greeks. The patriots, however, who led on the hazardous movement of the revolution, watched their time with greater sagacity, than they have generally had credit for. They had for more than five years meditated the project of emancipation. A secret fraternity had spread its branches through Greece. Its remotest provinces were in concert; what was maturing in Moldavia and Wallachia, was known in Constantinople, in the Morea, and in Albania; and with all the

multitudes that must have participated in these dangerous counsels, the explosion, though in reality at last accidental and unconcerted, did not take place till a propitious crisis had arrived, and Ali Pacha, instead of being at the disposal of the Porte, to take the field against the insurgents, occasioned himself the most embarrassing diversion of the Ottoman forces. To this cause, no doubt are to be traced the languor and inefficiency of the military operations of the three first campaigns.

Bereaved of the aid of their great vassal of the west, at a moment when it was most needed, and convinced by trial, of the impossibility of crushing the insurrection by the employment of ordinary pachas, the Porte, as a last resort, called in the bey of Egypt; doubtless on the calculation, that if it did not regain a revolted province, it would embarrass and exhaust a dangerous subject. It appears to us, that the inefficacy of the Egyptian invasion has by this time been shown; that Ibrahim cannot put an end to the war, merely by continuing the military occupation of a small part of the soil; and that the expense of this occupation must shortly exhaust his finances, and compel him to return.

We do not, therefore, for ourselves, see what can be done by the Turkish government, which has not already been done to no purpose, to effect the subjugation of the Greeks. There are no other powerful pachas, whose military skill and force can be brought into action. An experiment, indeed, has been made, and is now in progress, conceived in a bolder spirit, than usually animates the counsels of the Porte, which, could it be crowned with success, might threaten worse consequences to the Greeks, than anything they have as yet had to fear. We refer, of course, to the disbanding of the Janissaries, and the organization of a regular army on the European system. Could this be effected; could all the population of the Turkish empire, of armsbearing age, be enlisted in an army, organized, disciplined, and led like the armies of France and of England, it would indeed make the Porte formidable, not merely to the Greeks, but to the leading powers in Europe, who are now able to look, with stoical calmness, at the feeble and ineffectual blows aimed by Turkey at a people who stand on the frontier of Christendom. We have, however, no faith whatever, in the success of this experiment, and this for reasons, with all which we will not trouble our readers. It will be sufficient to remind them, that precisely the same experiment, attempted by

the most accomplished and able of all the Sultans, who, for a century and a half, have succeeded to the throne, cost him his life, not more than twenty years ago. We see no reason, why a change of policy which brought Selim to the bowstring, should succeed in the hands of the present Sultan, a man of unpopular manners and moderate capacity. In the next place, the institution of the Janissaries is not a mere arbitrary thing, which can be taken up and laid down at pleasure; but it is a part of the social existence of the people; an organization which has existed for two centuries, ever since, in fact, the firm establishment of the Turkish power in Europe. It approaches, in its nature, the organization of our militia; and the attempt to disband the Janissaries and introduce a regular force, is very nearly the same as an attempt would be in Europe, to establish a regular army by conscription, in a country where both army and conscription were wholly unknown before. Could a regular army be organized in Turkey, there is great doubt if it could be maintained in the field. Hitherto the civil and the military service under the Turkish government has been ordered, substantially, on the feudal principle, which, in the main, is the principle of the oriental world, as far back as our accounts run. The empire is divided into provinces, which are committed, almost in full sovereignty, to the government of the pachas. These pachas pay an annual sum to the Sultan; and indemnify themselves from the inhabitants of the provinces, in which they defray the expenses of their own government. When called to take the field with their contingents, the pachas must defray the expenses of their troops, which are made as light as possible by a system of free quarters alike on friend and foe. Now in a government where the military has long been on this footing, a government, moreover, confessedly in its decrepitude, to attempt to disband the great feudal militia of the country, and enlist a standing army, seems to us a very doubtful experiment.

Nor does it appear that any success, at all deserving the name, has attended this experiment, during the three years that it is understood to have been going on. The most the Porte has been able to do, is to quell the revolt of the Janissaries at Constantinople, nor has this been done without immense bloodshed. It does not appear, that a single regiment of the new army has reached Greece; and as far as our information, at this distance, extends, the only effect of the experiment, hitherto, has been to paralyze the old military organiza-

tion, and excite a general discontent at its suppression, without substituting any other in its place.

If, indeed, (which we grant to be not impossible, though in a high degree unlikely to happen) the Porte succeed, by dint of spasmodic and fanatical effort, on the one hand, guided by observation of the systems of western Europe, on the other, in organizing an efficient army on the European system; should she be able so to improve her financial system, as to pay and support this army, and with it conquer Greece, and return as she would from that conquest, a regenerated military power of the first rank, essentially hostile, and as formidable as hostile, to the political system of Europe, it would present a curious commentary on the course which has been pursued by the leading European powers, by Russia, England, and France, in reference to the present struggle. All general principles of politics dictated to these powers, to take advantage of the present convenient opportunity, to drive from Europe a government, necessarily at war with the civilization of Christendom, and never established within its limits, by any better title, than military occupation. To justify themselves for disregarding these dictates of sound general policy, the leading powers have urged the inconvenience and danger at the present moment, of allowing the peace of Europe to be disturbed, of building up a new power of very uncertain relations toward the rest, or of aggrandizing, in doubtful proportions, by a partition of European Turkey, the older powers, which might take part in a general war against the Turks. Now to avoid these dangers and inconveniences, what are the leading powers of Europe doing? They are sitting quietly by, while the Porte is making the experiment (and, as the government party in almost every portion of Europe anticipates, the successful experiment) of organizing in Turkey an efficient military establishment on the European footing, and thus converting that power, at present effete and passive, into an active military power of the first order, intrenched in Europe in a position chosen by the eye of Constantine, and wisely chosen, as commanding Europe and Asia. In exchange for the risk of building up a feeble republic in Greece, the leading powers think it wise to recall into being, that power which once threw its legions within the walls of Otranto and knocked at the gates of Vienna. The cabinets which dread the disproportionate aggrandizement of Russia, contemplate without alarm the regeneration of a power, whose princi-

ples must ever be at war with those of Europe, whose position is far more dangerous, whose means of annoyance more to be dreaded. One needs but to consider the injuries, which the petty regencies of the Barbary coast have inflicted on the states of Christendom, to be able to estimate the effect on the peace and intercourse of Europe, of the restoration of Turkey to a state of vigorous political and military activity. To effect and to countenance this restoration has been the policy of the cabinets of Europe, since the commencement of the Grecian revolution. And this is called preserving the tranquillity of Europe! But for ourselves, we apprehend no such danger. We have no faith in the successful accomplishment of the great transformation, which is attempted in the Turkish system, and we are unable to perceive, after the most diligent scrutiny, under the best lights at our command, where the Porte is to find, or how it is to make, the means of bringing to bear upon the Greeks, a greater military pressure, than it has hitherto effected; and without a much greater pressure, we see no possibility of crushing the revolt.

It is necessary then to contemplate the position of the Greeks, as they are likely to be affected by the continuance of the present state of things; on the supposition, that the Porte, although unable to make an effort sufficient to bring the war to a close, may yet, for a number of years, persevere in the present or a similar system of hostilities. Have the Greeks anything to hope from the interference of the powers of Europe?

If the designs of the cabinets could be judged of, by the declarations of those designs, which have been allowed to escape; or if the conduct of the cabinets, in respect to Greece, for any considerable time to come, were sure to be guided by its present designs, we should unhesitatingly pronounce, that, in the way of direct, friendly interference, the Greeks have nothing to hope from the powers of western Europe. Russia is by religion the natural ally of Greece. No jealousy, but a strong friendly feeling subsists between the Greeks and the Russians. Extensive commercial and family connexions exist between them. Greeks who succeeded in amassing wealth retired habitually to Moscow. Individuals, who became obnoxious to the Turkish government, fled to Russia. Many of the young men, particularly those of the ancient families, entered the Russian army; not a few rose to honorable posts in the Russian civil service. In a word, no national association in Europe is older

or more intimate than that of the Greeks and Russians. It dates from the very dawn of civilization in Russia in the middle ages, and is cemented by all the ties, which can bind nations together, except that of language. Such was the feeling of Russia toward Greece, as between the people on both sides. The late emperor Alexander had every reason to share this feeling, both as a Russian and a ruler of Russians. The hereditary policy of his family looked to extension of the Russian influence, if not of the Russian empire, on the side of Greece; and all the lessons of his renowned grandmother dictated a watchful policy in that direction. Unfortunately for the Greeks, at least in the first instance, Alexander's feelings and policy, as a Russian prince, were controlled by his position in the general system of Europe. The occurrences in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain presented a dangerous coincidence with the revolution in Greece. Alexander was not able, or was not permitted, to draw a line of distinction between the two cases, and the Porte was permitted to enjoy the advantage of the decree, which went out against all movements of the people against their rulers. But for this untoward coincidence, there is scarce room for a doubt, that the differences between Russia and Turkey, founded on long established hatred between the countries, aggravated by the breach of the last treaty between them, in reference to the protection to be enjoyed by Moldavia and Wallachia, and exasperated by the personal insults offered to the Russian minister at Constantinople, and by the massacre of the patriarch, would have ended in war. In fact, the Russian armies were on the Pruth, and the slightest additional provocation, not to say the merest accident, would have carried them over it. But the turn of events in the south of Europe disheartened Alexander; difficulties since arising with the Persians have occasioned a diversion of the Russian power, on the eastern flank of the empire; and an accommodation has been made with the Porte. This accommodation, although securing substantially the privileges of the Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia, has been made at the sacrifice of the privileges of the Greek families, which Russia for more than a century has guaranteed, and which, it is reasonably to be expected, will, at some future period, and in a change of circumstances, again be matter of contention between Russia and the Porte.

But the policy of England is perhaps still more important, in

its bearing on the struggle in Greece, not merely on account of the actual ability of England to promote or prevent a successful issue of the struggle, but on account of her supposed interest as the rival and antagonist of Russia. This rivalry, as we have on former occasions been led to state, has, in more than one instance, been an effectual shield to the feebleness of the Ottoman empire. To all appearance, it will for some time so continue; and perhaps it is the tendency of the present state of things, rather to confirm than to weaken the policy of the English cabinet, in maintaining the Sultan against the Czar. England is now vulnerable in two characters; characters, in principle, diametrically opposite to each other; but in which she stands, in consequence of a coincidence of circumstances, of which it is in vain to seek a parallel in the history of the world. She is mistress of a mighty empire in the east; in population second only to that of China; in the despotic frame of its government on the same footing as China, Turkey, and Russia. Of the four great despotisms of the modern dispensation, England, in her Indian empire, is one. She fills a link in the chain of absolute rule, which binds the earth in subjection, from the east of Asia to the west of Europe.

Now it so happens, that Turkey, another of these great despotisms, intervenes between the British empire, which is extensively exposed, and the Russian, which is essentially militant, and which is notoriously growing up into some great development of power, of which no one undertakes to foretell the character or direction, but of which all feel a foreboding dread. Turkey herself is passive; her power depends on quiescence; her antiquated machinery of government can sustain no competition with the political doublespeeders of this revolutionary age. She has a few ships built by French engineers in her ship yards, but no seamen, except her revolted Greeks. An effective, disposable military power she has not, and for the reasons we have already ventured to state, cannot have. She is therefore to England a perfectly safe neighbor, in reference to the British possessions in the east. But, on the other hand, she presents, on the side of Russia, a barrier not easy to pass. In any state of things, in which British India should be threatened from Russia, England would find and would employ the means of entangling Russia with the Porte; to say nothing of the natural effect of the geographical position of the two powers. These relations are perfectly understood by all the parties con-

cerned, and by none better than by Turkey and England. The Porte well knows, that it is the interest of Great Britain to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman empire, against the advances of Russia; and Great Britain feels that any essential change in the present position toward each other of Turkey and Russia, might be a very hazardous experiment, in reference to her eastern dominions. She has not forgotten that thirty years have not elapsed, since the Turkish empire, on occasion of the French invasion of Egypt, afforded England the most seasonable aid in warding off a blow, which was ultimately aimed at India, and which was, in the chapter of political accidents, much less likely to be struck, than any to be feared from Russia. If Turkey, in time of need, has so lately proved an useful ally to England against France, it is not to be supposed, that the importance of her position, as a barrier on the side of Russia, will ever be lost sight of.

Such is the state of things, which must govern the policy of England in this contest, considered as one of the great despotisms now subsisting. In the other capacity in which she presents herself to the world, we again behold her in opposition to Russia, but it is in her quality as champion of liberal principles and representative governments in Europe, against the system of the continental alliance, with Russia at its head. In this view, many things are adverse to an interference of either of these powers, of a nature friendly to Greece. England could not acquiesce in any measures, which would aggrandize Russia, or powerfully extend her influence, on the side of Turkey. The expulsion of the Turks from Europe would inevitably add to Russia Moldavia and Wallachia (consequently the mouth of the Danube), and probably Bulgaria and ancient Thrace, and with them Constantinople, and the entire communication of the Black sea with the Mediterranean. Is this an event, the remotest approach to which would be endured by England, at the time when the fear of Russian ascendancy is becoming a panic fear in the south and west of Europe? Certainly not. On the other hand, as we have already said, Russia herself cannot, from political reasons, now favor the movement in Greece, being deeply pledged to the antirevolutionary policy, in all its forms.

No important influence, on the affairs of Greece, distinct from the influence of Russia and of England, can be exercised by any of the other great powers of Europe. It is true, Aus-

tria has an important and extensive frontier on Turkey, which she is obliged to watch by a very large and expensive border garrison, which has an organization and establishment of its own, distinct from that of the rest of the Austrian army. One or two Turkish provinces would round out the Austrian dominions very handsomely, on the Danube and on the Adriatic. We are not sure, in fact, that Austria does not, as successor to the doge of Venice, claim to be the legitimate sovereign of the kingdoms of the Morea, of Candia, and Cyprus. The three flagstuffs on which the banners of these kingdoms waved, still stand in the place of St Mark's. But Austria, like Turkey, is a quiescent power. She moves only when impelled; and owes her own safety to the undisturbed maintenance of what has been and what is. France, by national character and manners, by intimate association with the Greeks, since the commencement of the French revolution, and by the military passion of the present generation, possesses the means of interfering to great effect in the contest. France is, however, entirely controlled by her own political situation, and can exercise no independent influence, either in reference to the revolution in Greece, or any other question of international politics. Had Napoleon continued to live and reign, some radical changes would unquestionably have taken place, in the south-eastern corner of Europe. He informs us, that he often conferred with Russia on the subject of the partition of European Turkey, but that they never could agree about Constantinople. Napoleon, however, had his way of settling these points with other powers, in cases of disagreement.

If the foregoing speculations are correct, it follows, that no powerful interference is to be expected, on the part of any one of the leading powers, in favor of the Greeks. Is it equally unlikely, that these powers may, by an union of counsels, effect a termination of the contest on favorable terms? Rumors to this effect, have circulated too long and too extensively, to be set down as wholly groundless. The groundwork for such a concert between at least three great powers, Russia, Austria, and England, already exists. They are all frontier powers as respects Greece, all concerned in giving a direction favorable to their own interests, to the events of which Greece is the theatre. Should the Turkish government be removed from Europe, it would still remain in sufficient force in Asia, to satisfy all the demands of the British policy, in reference to her Indian

empire. The partition, which we have above suggested in reference to Austria and Russia is obvious, and might be compensated to the queen of islands, by as many of the gems of the Levant, as she might choose to set in the coronet of her ocean empire; while the central portion of Greece, the real seat of the revolution, presents every advantage for the establishment of an independent government, under the guaranty of the great powers. Such an arrangement between the leading powers of Europe, would certainly be in no degree novel, in an age, which has witnessed the transactions of the Congress of Vienna, to say nothing of the events connected with the French revolution, and with the erection of the Spanish American provinces into independent states. Nature is evidently struggling for relief, from the oppression of the Turkish despotism in Europe. The presence, in a Christian region, of a Mahometan power; the rule of a barbarous government, over a race of men belonging to the family of European civilization, is an anomaly, at once too afflicting and too monstrous to become permanent.

It is indeed to be deplored, that reasons of state have, on this occasion, sealed up the tongue and palsied the hand of him, who of all living men could the easiest apply the remedy to this grievous disease. There is an individual, who sits on no throne, in whose veins no aristocratic blood runs, who derives no influence from amassed or inherited wealth, but who, by the simple supremacy of mind, exercises, at this moment, a political sway, as mighty as that of Napoleon at the zenith of his power. Indebted for his own brilliant position to the liberality of the age, which is shaking off the fetters of ancient prejudices, this literal ruler by the grace of God, can feel no real deference for most of the maxims, by which the neutrality of England, in the wars of Grecian liberty, is justified. How devoutly is it to be wished, that the pure and undying glory of restoring another civilized region to the family of Christendom, could present itself in vision to the mind of this fortunate statesman; that, turning from his fond but magnificent boast, that he had called into existence a new world in the Indies, he would appropriate to himself the immortal fame, which could not be gainsaid, of having recalled to life the fairest region of Europe. He has but to speak the word, within the narrow walls of St Stephen's, and the Sultan trembles on his throne. He has but to speak the word, and all the poor scruples and

hypocritical sophistries of the continental cabinets vanish into air. Let him then abandon the paltry chase of a few ragamuffin Portuguese malecontents, and follow a game, which is worthy of himself and the people whose organ he is. Let him pronounce the sentence of expulsion from Europe of the cruel and barbarous despotism, which has so long oppressed it. The whole civilized world will applaud and sanction the decree; he will alleviate an amount of human suffering, he will work out a sum of human good, which the revolutions of ages scarcely put it within the reach of men or governments, to avert or effect. He will encircle his plebeian temples with a wreath of fame, compared with which the diadem of the monarch whom he serves is worthless dross.

But we suppose it must not be; the Greeks must be left to work out their own emancipation, by their own resources, aided by a single, and that we trust an all sufficient ally, to which, before closing these remarks, we shall more particularly allude. Unless some concerted action in her favor, on the part of the leading powers takes place, present appearances authorize the expectation, that the war, as at present carried on, will continue for years. Neither party is in force to bring it to a decisive close. It has abundantly appeared, from six years' experience, that the Turkish government cannot command the means of crushing the insurrection. It is not less plain, that the Greeks do not possess the means of expelling the hostile forces now in the country, and preventing further invasion. Nothing therefore remains, supposing foreign powers to continue to stand aloof, but that the contest should continue, till the one side or the other is fairly exhausted and disabled. Is this likely to be the Turks or the Greeks? Obviously the former, from the nature of the case, and manifold causes growing out of the relative position of the two parties. The Turks are invaders. The stationary Turkish population, resident in those parts of Greece, which are the scene of the revolution, did not exceed at the opening of the war, one twentieth of the whole population. On the breaking out of hostilities, these Turks fled for safety to the garrisons, or joined the armies, and their hold upon the country was entirely cut off. Difference of language, religion, and political position, prevented the formation of a party in favor of the government, which usually exists in civil wars. It is impossible, then, that the Turkish force should be kept up, either as to numbers or supplies, but

by continual effort from without. The country furnishes nothing to it. Men and provisions must be constantly poured in, at vast expense, if further operations are to be carried on ; or even if things are to be kept as they now stand. The Turkish government has no credit. We suppose that even the Jews of the stock exchange, who lend to all, would not lend to the Turk. Where the resources have been found, to carry on the war thus far, is a financial problem, which we confess ourselves unable to solve ; and which the accounts that continually reach us from Constantinople, of Armenian bankers bowstringed, the coin debased, and the ornaments of the mosques transferred to the mint, do but partly explain.

The Greeks, on the other hand, act upon the defensive. They have no regular armies to raise, transport, and subsist in foreign lands. It is true, they need money to keep their militia in the field, and the war languishes and is protracted from this very cause. But the population of the country is just able to subsist, in the present state of things. The Egyptian army does not follow them into their mountain retreats, where their flocks, and such rude agriculture as they can pursue, afford them a pinched subsistence ; while their countrymen in the seaports and nearer the coast have been prevented from starving, by the benevolence of the friends of humanity in foreign climes. We do not say that all this is prosperous, is comfortable, is desirable. God forbid ; but we say it can be borne ; and will be borne, rather than come again under the accursed yoke of the Turks, or encounter the fate, which has been repeatedly denounced, and which, if not denounced, would most surely befall them,—indiscriminate extermination, by military execution or sale into slavery. At any rate, it seems plain to us, that the Greeks can longer subsist on the defensive, in their present situation, than the Turks can find the means of meeting the enormous pecuniary burden of their establishments.

A considerable part of the Greek population is scattered among the islands and islets of the Archipelago, and subsists by the plunder of the enemy ; and we are sorry to add, by indiscriminate piracy on the navigation of the Levant. This evil indeed will go on increasing, as the war is protracted. Starved out at home, they will take to the sea ; and will prey upon the nations whose policy preys on them. Every way to be regretted, this consequence of the state of things existing in Greece, is particularly unfortunate, from its effect, in creating

a prejudice against the Greeks. The American merchant, who is invited to contribute for the relief of the Greeks, excuses himself, on the ground, that his last letters from Smyrna inform him, that he has had a valuable ship plundered, and the crew beaten, by Greek pirates. It ought, however, in charity to be remembered, first, that this state of things unavoidably takes place, where a war is carried on by a feeble government. The Grecian government has not the physical means to coerce the unprincipled part of its subjects, into an observance of the law of nations. In the next place it should be allowed, that some of the christian powers have afforded the Greeks the most irritating provocation, in lending their flag to the Turks. What Greek, that saw the Austrian transports standing into Missolonghi, could be expected to be very scrupulous, as to the law of nations, at least as far as Austrians are concerned? Nor should it finally be forgotten, in reference to the present piracies in the Grecian seas, that they are the acts, not of Greeks merely, but of a *colluvies* of all tongues and nations, the outcasts of every country. To adventurers of this description, the Grecian islands have, in every age, from the time of Julius Cæsar, furnished a covert; and we have no doubt that every *mistic's* crew of pirates, whose nefarious deeds are set down to the account of Greece, contains a full representation from every christian people bordering on the Mediterranean. If it does not, the population of the Archipelago is improving, which we certainly did not suppose to be the case.

If we can but bring ourselves to a well grounded belief, that the Greeks will be able to ride out, for a considerable time to come, as they have for six years already past, the terrible storm which is beating upon them, we can trace some beneficial consequences from this prolongation of their fiery trial. Starting up from abject political subjection, not to say personal slavery; rallying together without any previous association in the community; composed of individuals from the most remote extremes of society (for what can be more remote than the manners and character of the mountaineers of Suli, the merchants of Hydra, and the gentry of the Fanal); and all bringing with them the social vices, which a tyrannical government engenders in every class of society, the phalanx of the Grecian patriots has certainly not yet exhibited all the necessary qualifications for self government. They have most wanted

that, which, indeed, wherever it is enjoyed, is rightfully acknowledged to be, not so much a signal advantage of the ordinary kind, as an undoubted gift of heaven. Strike out the name and agency of Washington from the American revolution, and you have the elements of a very different result of all its labors and sacrifices. The Greek revolution has exhibited no defect so prominently, as the want of a brave, skilful, patriotic leader, equal to the momentous crisis of his country's fortunes.

As the influence of such a leader is in nothing more conspicuous than in repressing and compromising the feuds, and conciliating the tempers of the men of weight and activity below him, it may safely be ascribed to the want of such a leader, that faction has been permitted to proceed to such alarming lengths, in the conduct of the revolution. Could all parties, from the first, have been cordially united, in an intelligent co-operation against the common enemy, it is probable, though by no means certain, that the war might already have been brought to a close. Time, however, has been wasted, opportunities lost, and money thrown away, from the clashing of rival chieftains, and the war of interests, partly personal, partly geographical, partly of political principle. While these factions last, however much to be deplored, they prove that the cause is not *in extremis*. If they show the indiscretion of the Greeks, they show the inability of the Turks to apply the sovereign remedy for domestic feuds, an overwhelming foreign force. It does not appear, moreover, that there is any ground for permanent and fatal dissension among the different classes of the population. There is no contest for a new distribution of old political privileges; no quarrel between creole and native patriotism. There is not even such dissimilarity as exists, on many important points, between various members of our own federal union. In short, we perceive no obstacle, to prevent the hearty union of all Greece under the guidance of any leader, suited for the vocation, who shall arise among them.

Till such an individual shall appear, paradoxical as the remark may seem, the cause of the revolution, in spite of all the horrors and sufferings of war, stands safer now, than it would in the event of a premature pacification. Every one, who reflects on our own history, will feel, that, blessed though we were with statesmen and leaders of unbounded influence, the cause of American liberty was in greater peril from 1783 to 1789, than during the continuance of the war. In the exigencies of

the war, a leader is more likely to be formed. If the Greeks should succeed in making peace with the Turks, on the basis of independence, before the appearance of any individual of paramount influence, and before their political organization is matured, they would stand in a more critical position than at present. Whether we look, therefore, to the probability that the character so much wanted will arise among them, under the strong urgency of the times, or that the common peril will gradually draw their counsels into harmony, and effect a mature organization, the continuance of the contest, notwithstanding the misery incident to it, must be regarded as a part of the necessary education of the people, in the school of liberty.

At all events, there they are, a gallant race, struggling single handed for independence; an extraordinary spectacle to the world! With scarcely a government of their own, and without the assistance of any established power, they have waged, for six years, a fearfully contested war against one of the great empires of the earth. When Mr Canning lately held out the menace of war, against those continental nations, who should violently interfere with the English system, he sought to render the menace more alarming, by calling it 'a war of opinions,' in which the discontented of every other country would rally against their own government, under the banner of Great Britain. On this menace, which, considering the quarter from whence it proceeds, comes with somewhat of a revolutionary and disorganizing tone, we have now no comment to make. The war now raging in Greece, is, in a much higher and better sense, a war of opinion, which has actually begun; and in which the unarrayed, the unofficial, and we had almost said the individual efforts and charities of the friends of liberty, throughout Christendom, are combating, and thus far successfully, the barbarous hosts of the Turk. Deserted as they have been by the governments to whom they naturally looked for aid; by Russia, who tamely sees the head of the Russian church hung up at the door of his own cathedral; by England, the champion of liberal principles in Europe, and the protectress of the Ionian isles; by the holy alliance, that takes no umbrage at the debarkation of army after army of swarthy infidels, on the shores of a christian country, the Greeks have still been cheered and sustained by the sympathy of the civilized world. Gallant volunteers have crowded to their assistance, and some of the best blood of Europe has been shed in their defence. Liberal

contributions of money have been sent to them across the globe ; and, while we write the sentences, supplies are despatched to them from various parts of our own country, sufficient to avert the horrors of famine for another season. The direct effect of these contributions, great as it is (and it is this, which has enabled the Greeks to hold out thus far), is not its best operation. We live in an age of moral influences. Greece, in these various acts, feels herself incorporated into the family of civilized nations ; raised out of the prison house of a cruel and besotted despotism, into the community of enlightened states. Let an individual fall in with and be assailed by a superior force, in the lonely desert, on the solitary ocean, or beneath the cover of darkness, and his heart sinks within him, as he receives blow after blow, and feels his strength wasting, in the unwitnessed and uncheered struggle. But let the sound of human voices swell upon his ear, or a friendly sail draw nigh, and life and hope revive within his bosom. Nor is human nature different in its operation, in the large masses of men. Can any one doubt, that if the Greeks, instead of being placed where they are, on a renowned arena, in sight of the civilized world,—visited, aided, applauded, as they have been, from one extreme of Christendom to the other,—had been surrounded by barbarism, secluded in the interior of the Turkish empire, without a medium of communication with the world, they would have been swept away in a single campaign? They would have been crushed ; they would have been trampled into the dust ; and the Tartars, that returned from the massacre, would have brought the first tidings of their struggle.

This is our encouragement to persevere in calling the attention of the public to this subject. It is a warfare, in which we all are or ought to be enlisted. It is a war of opinion, of feeling, and of humanity. It is a great war of public sentiment ; not conflicting (as it is commonly called to do) merely with public sentiment operating in an opposite direction, but with a powerful, barbarous, and despotic government. The strength and efficacy of the public sentiment of the civilized world are now therefore to be put to the test on a large scale, and upon a most momentous issue. It is now to be seen, whether mankind, that is, its civilized portion,—whether enlightened Europe and enlightened America will stand by, and behold a civilized, christian people massacred *en masse* ; whether a people that cultivate the arts which we cultivate,—that enter into friendly

intercourse with us,—that send their children to our schools,—that translate and read our historians, philosophers, and moralists,—that live by the same rule of faith, and die in the hope of the same Savior, shall be allowed to be hewn down to the earth in our sight, by a savage horde of Ethiopians and Turks. For ourselves, we do not believe it. An inward assurance tells us, that it cannot be. Such an atrocity never has happened in human affairs, and will not now be permitted. As the horrid catastrophe draws near, if draw near it must, the christian governments will awaken from their apathy. If governments remain enchained by reasons of state, the common feeling of humanity among men will burst out, in some effectual interference. And if this fail, why should not Providence graciously interpose, to prevent the extinction of the only people, in whose churches the New Testament is used in the original tongue? Is it not a pertinent subject of inquiry with those, who administer the religious charities of this and other christian countries, whether the entire cause of the diffusion of the gospel is not more closely connected with the event of the struggle in Greece, than with anything else, in any part of the world? Is not the question, whether Greece and her islands shall be Christian or Mahometan, a more important question, than any other, in the decision of which we have the remotest agency? Might not a well devised and active concert among christian charitable societies in Europe and America, for the sake of rescuing this christian people, present the most auspicious prospect of success, and form an organization adequate to the importance and sacredness of the object? And can any man, who has humanity, liberty, or christianity at heart, feel justified in forbearing to give his voice, his aid, his sympathy to this cause, in any way, in which it is practicable to advance it.

Small as are the numbers of the Greeks, and limited as is their country, it may be safely said, that there has not, since the last Turkish invasion of Europe, been waged a war, of which the results, in the worst event, could have been so calamitous, as it must be allowed by every reflecting mind, that the subjugation and consequent extirpation of the Greeks would be. The wars, that are waged between the states of Christendom, generally grow out of the disputed titles of princes, or state quarrels between the governments. Serious changes no doubt take place, as these wars may be decided one way or the other. Nations, formerly well governed, may come under

an arbitrary sway ; or a despotic be exchanged for a milder government. But, inasmuch as victor and vanquished belong to the same civilized family ; and the social condition, the standard of morality, and the received code of public law are substantially the same, in all the nations of Europe ; no irreparable disaster to the cause of humanity itself can ensue from any war, in which they may be engaged with each other. Had Napoleon, for instance, succeeded in invading and conquering England (and this is probably the strongest case that could be put), after the first calamities of invasion and conquest were past, which must in all cases be much the same, no worse evils would probably have resulted to the cause of humanity, than the restoration of the Catholic religion, as the religion of the state, the introduction of the civil in place of the common law, and the general exclusion of the English nobility and gentry from offices of power and profit ; an exclusion, which the English government itself, since the year 1688, has enforced toward the Catholic families, among which are some of the oldest and richest in the kingdom. Whereas, should the Turks prevail in the present contest, an amalgamation of victor and vanquished would be as impracticable now, as when Greece was first conquered by the Ottoman power. The possession of the country has been promised to the bey of Egypt, as the reward of his services in effecting its conquest. The men at arms have already been doomed to military execution of the most cruel kind, and the women and children would be sold into Asiatic and African bondage.

We are not left to collect this merely from the known maxims of Turkish warfare, nor the menaces which have repeatedly been made by the Porte, but we see it exemplified in the island of Scio. On the soil of Greece, thus swept of its present population, will be settled the Egyptian and Turkish troops, by whom it shall have been subdued. Thus will have been cut off, obliterated from the map of Europe, and annihilated by the operation of whatever is most barbarous and terrific in the military practice of the Turkish government, an entire people ; one of those distinct social families, into which Providence collects the sons of men. In them will perish the descendants of ancestors, toward whom we all profess a reverence ; who carry in the language they speak, the proof of their national identity. In them will be exterminated a people, apt and predisposed for all the improvements of civilized life ; a people, connected with

the rest of Europe, by every moral and intellectual association ; and capable of being reared up into a prosperous and cultivated state. Finally, in them will perish one whole Christian people ; and that the first, that embraced christianity ; churches, actually founded by the apostles in person, churches, for whose direct instruction a considerable part of the New Testament was composed, after abiding all the storms of eighteen centuries, and surviving so many vicissitudes, are now at length to be razed ; and in the place of all this, an uncivilized Mahometan horde is to be established upon the ruins. We say it is a most momentous alternative. *Interest humani generis.* The character of the age is concerned. The impending evil is tremendous. To preserve the faith of certain old treaties, concluded we forget when, the parliament of England decides by acclamation to send an army into Portugal and Spain, because Spain has patronized the disaffection of the Portuguese ultra royalists. To prevent a change in the governments of Piedmont, Naples, and Spain, Austria and France invade those countries with large armies. Can these great powers look tamely on, and see the ruin of their Christian brethren consummated in Greece ? Is there a faded parchment, in the diplomatic archives of London or Lisbon, that binds the English government more imperiously, than the great original obligation to rescue an entire Christian people from the scimeter ? Can statesmen, who profess to be, who are, influenced by the rules of a chaste and lofty public morality, justify their sanguinary wars with Ashantees and Burmans, and find reasons of duty for shaking the petty thrones of the interior of Africa ; and allow an African satrap to strew the plains of Attica with bloody ashes ?

If they can, and if they will, then let the friends of liberty, humanity, and religion take up this cause, as one that concerns them all, and each, in his capacity as a Christian and a man. Let them make strong the public sentiment on this subject, and it will prevail. Let them remember, what ere now has been done, by the perseverance and resolution of small societies, and even individual men. Let them remember how small a company of adventurers, unpatronized, scarcely tolerated by their government, succeeded in laying the foundations of this our happy country, beyond a mighty ocean. Let them recollect, that it was one fixed impression, cherished and pursued in the heart of an humble and friendless mariner, through long

years of fruitless solicitation and fainting hope, to which it is owing, that these vast American continents are made a part of the heritage of civilized man. Let them recollect that, in the same generation, one poor monk dismembered the great ecclesiastical empire of Europe. Let them bear in mind, that it was a hermit, who roused the nations of Europe in mass, to engage in an expedition against the common enemy of Christendom ; an expedition, wild, indeed, and unjustifiable, according to our better lights, but lawful and meritorious in those who embarked in it. Let them, in a word, never forget, that when, on those lovely islands and once happy shores, over which a dark cloud of destruction now hangs, the foundations of the christian church were first laid, it was by the hands of private, obscure, and persecuted individuals. It was the people, the humblest of the people, that took up the gospel, in defiance of all the patronage, the power, and the laws of the government. Why should not christianity be sustained, in the same country and by the same means, by which it was originally established ? If, as we believe, it is the strong and decided sentiment of the civilized world, that the cause of the Greeks is a good cause, and that they ought not to be allowed to perish, it cannot be, that this sentiment will remain inoperative. The very existence of this sentiment is a tower of strength. It will make itself felt, by a thousand manifestations. It will be heard in our senates, and our pulpits ; it will be echoed from our firesides. Does any one doubt that the cause of America was mightily strengthened and animated by the voices of the friends of liberty in the British parliament ? Were not the speeches of Chatham and Burke worth a triumphant battle to our fathers ? And can any one doubt that the Grecian patriots will hold out, so long as the Christian world will cheer them with its sanction ?

Let then the public mind be disabused of the prejudices, which mislead it on this question. Let it not be operated upon by tales of piracies at sea, and factions on land ; evils, which belong not to Greeks, but to human nature. Let the means of propagating authentic intelligence of the progress of the revolution be multiplied. Let its well wishers and its well hopers declare themselves in the cause. Let the tide of pious and Christian charity be turned into this broad and thirsty channel. Let every ardent and high spirited young man, who has an independent subsistence of two or three hundred dollars a year, embark personally in the cause, and aspire to that crown of glory, never

yet worn except by him, who so lately triumphed in the hearts of the entire millions of Americans. Let this be done, and Greece is safe.

ART. III.—*Proceedings of sundry Citizens of Baltimore, convened for the Purpose of Devising the most efficient Means of Improving the Intercourse between that City and the Western States.* 8vo. pp. 38. Baltimore. William Wooddy. 1827.

THE fertile districts lying west of the Allegany ridge, and watered by the Ohio and the Mississippi, are among the most remarkable in the world, not so much merely from their great physical advantages, as from the rapidity with which these have been turned to account. In little more than half a century, the frontier of the Anglo-American population has been extended from Cumberland, in Maryland, on the Potomac, to a considerable distance beyond the Mississippi. The state of Ohio, whose nearest point to Cumberland is about one hundred and twenty miles, now numbers more than double the population of Maryland, whose western extremity bordered, in 1760, on a solitary wilderness. One can hardly conjecture how far this torrent of civilization will rush in the next half century. The same fertility of soil, mildness of climate, and facility of interior communication; the same equal laws, and security of property, will probably people the remote west with as great, perhaps greater rapidity. Whatever satisfaction the transatlantic critics may find in the retrospections inspired by their venerable abbeys, there is, to our indigenous taste, something still more inspiring in the anticipations suggested by the fertile solitudes of our own country. What renders the emotion more grateful still, is the *cause* of this rapid expansion of wealth and civilization. There are countries, perhaps, which excel a part of the regions we speak of, in fertility, and in the value of their products; but none whose progress is to be compared to theirs; a superiority which finds its source in the moral and political condition of their people.

It is difficult to imagine how much greater this progress would have been, had our western states lain more convenient

to the sea. From the physical features of the country, they have from the first, contended with the disadvantage of dealing with remote marts, accessible only at the expense of much time and money. The great chain of the Allegany, which has been called the backbone of the United States, dividing the tributary streams of the Ohio and Mississippi from those of the Atlantic rivers, neither affords a natural descending navigation from the western states to the Atlantic, nor has yet been pierced by a canal uniting their respective waters. The people of the west have depended, for the sale of their surplus produce, on the distant and otherwise disadvantageous market of New Orleans, or have reached the great towns on the seaboard by slow and difficult mountain roads, not always improved by art. Until the noble invention of Fulton doubled, as it were, the value of our mighty western rivers, the difficulty and delay of their navigation brought the larger part of the commerce of the west over these mountain barriers; and it was this trade, combined with the then great demand for our produce, and with our advantages as neutrals, which gave to some of our Atlantic towns their remarkable growth.

Among these, Baltimore, until the late immense increase of New York, was the most signal example of the sudden concentration of population and wealth in the towns of a new and fast peopling country. A hamlet in 1752, it had in 1820, acquired a population of nearly sixtythree thousand souls, and possessed most of the conveniences and embellishments which belong to cities of the second class. At that period, too, we have reason to believe, its numbers fell short of those of preceding years. The general embarrassments of trade, together with some peculiar causes, had already sensibly lessened its prosperity, and caused a considerable emigration. Its trade has since been revived in most branches, and its capital largely and profitably invested in others; and its population, though no recent census has been taken, may be safely assumed at seventytwo thousand.

Though this check to its prosperity is, imputable, in great part, to the causes, which have depressed the whole commercial public, it is referrible, in some degree, to two, whose general effect has been highly advantageous. The introduction of steamboats on the Ohio and the Mississippi, has diminished the transport of country produce across the mountains; and, on the other hand, the western canal of New York has opened

another, and to many districts, a much more convenient conveyance of both the exports and imports of the west. The combined causes of the distance of a market, and of the cheapness of subsistence, have extended a good deal the use of domestic manufactures in the western states, to the partial exclusion of British fabrics; and various causes which we need not mention, have concentrated the trade in these fabrics almost wholly in New York, where it is done largely on foreign account, and through foreign agencies. What is not wholly without effect, the facility of travelling is so much greater than formerly, that the western dealer finds little difference, in expense or fatigue, between going to Baltimore and a little further to New York, and naturally prefers to purchase in the most extensive mart. From these causes, the importation of British goods is much diminished in the former city. On the whole, though the position of Baltimore on a noble bay, sufficient of itself to supply trade to an important town; though the large water power in her vicinity, already extensively applied to mills and factories; her large commerce with the Susquehanna country, four fifths of whose produce seek a market in her harbor; the great capital accumulated by former enterprise, as well as a respectable foreign trade remaining; though all these have combined to bring together, and will continue to support a large and increasing population, it is certain that, since 1818-19, she has taken much less vigorous strides than signalized her earlier career.

We have been led to these remarks by the publication named at the head of this article, from which, and from the steps since taken in conformity with the opinions expressed in it, we learn that an important enterprise is on foot in that city, very likely, in the judgment of the projectors, to succeed, and certain in ours, if successful, to restore to it all the advantages, which it formerly derived from its proximity to the west, and even more.

The importance of a canal communication with the states beyond the Alleghanies, early attracted the attention of Washington, who fixed his view on the Potomac, as offering the shortest and most practicable route. Under his auspices was formed the 'Potomac Company,' and a canal commenced, which was never completed. The project was resumed in 1822, by the states of Virginia and Maryland, in connexion with the general government, and the public is informed of the surveys

made in reference to it. They resulted in a belief of the practicableness of the scheme, but at an expense of twenty-three millions, and a lockage of three thousand feet, with some doubt, perhaps, of an adequate supply of water. For a national work, this cost was not startling when compared with the vast results to be secured ; but the delay from the unparalleled amount of lockage, was a more serious objection. The public attention, however, particularly in Maryland, was fixed by these inquiries on this important object. Baltimore was naturally concerned to draw back the gainful trade, which had been diverted from her, and the late publications in England on the subject of railways, led some of her intelligent citizens to the idea, that a connexion of this sort might be advantageously substituted for a canal. At a meeting in that city, on the twelfth of February last, the report before noticed was presented, embracing the reasonings of various writers on railroads, with some estimates of the cost of extending one from Baltimore to the Ohio, and of the amount of trade which might be presumed to take that course. A charter was afterwards obtained from the states of Maryland and Virginia (Pennsylvania postponing her assent) for a company called the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, with a capital of three millions, and the power of extending it to five, in shares of a hundred dollars each ; a million to be subscribed by the state, half a million by the corporation of Baltimore, and a million and a half by individuals. On the opening of the books in March, more than the total amount was subscribed in a few days, by individuals alone.

Little known as railroads are in America, and their more extended use not yet fully proved in England, the scheme is certainly a bold one, of constructing a road of this sort, not less than two hundred and fifty miles in length, and surmounting an elevation of three thousand feet. We shall notice briefly the views which have been suggested by its projectors, and which have attracted so large a capital into the scheme.

The substitution of railroads for canals, which appears to be generally contemplated in England, is rendered by some circumstances of climate, still more advantageous in this country than in that. Our rigorous winters would obstruct canals with ice, during several weeks, and sometimes months ; our soil is still shaded by forests, and therefore the *minimum* volume of the streams is yet unascertained ; and our tropical summer

presents a serious objection to canals, on the score of health. It may therefore be fortunate that Baltimore has reserved her means for the completion of a mode of conveyance which, besides being better adapted to the country, probably far excels the other in speed, in economy of construction, and in cheapness of carriage. It has been computed by a writer on this subject, that by the substitution of mechanic for horse power on the turnpike roads of England, there would be a saving in every twelve years of not less than £138,040,000. Whether horse or mechanic power were adopted on the proposed railway, the saving would be immense on the carriage of the trade ; a saving which would be shared between the grower and the railway company, in the shape of profit to the one, and of tolls to the other. Baltimore lies two hundred miles nearer than New York to the navigable waters of the west, and about one hundred nearer than Philadelphia ; and this advantage in the distance, even were other circumstances the same, must always secure to her the trade of the regions which are watered by them.

The Report presents us with a variety of estimates on the actual and comparative cost of canals and railways ; on the comparative expense of transportation ; and, what is not least important, the economy of time. The length of a canal from Pittsburg to Washington, and thence to Baltimore, was estimated by the United States' engineers, at three hundred and ninety miles ; a railroad may be extended from the latter place to the Ohio, with a length, as it is believed, of only two hundred and fifty miles, because it is neither confined, like a canal, to the valleys of rivers, nor needs it deviate with a view to a supply of water. The saving, therefore, in distance alone is one hundred and forty miles. The computed cost of the Ohio and Chesapeake canal, is twentythree millions three hundred and seventyfive thousand four hundred and twentyseven dollars, while that of the railroad, at twenty thousand dollars a mile, which is believed to be a high estimate, is but five millions of dollars. This computation is founded on various estimates of the cost of railways in England, varying from one half to one fourth of that of canals, and averaging, on a comparison of many sorts of railroads, to an extent of five hundred miles, about five thousand pounds sterling a mile, including all expenses besides the mere formation of the road. These expenses, particularly for lands, fences, and stone, would necessarily

be less in this country than there; and the proposed partial substitution of wood for stone would still further reduce the cost. The price of labor, however, is greater here than there.

Whatever may be the actual cost of a mile of railway, and the ultimate expense of the whole route from Baltimore to the Ohio, it seems highly reasonable, at least, that both its first cost and the expense of repair, must be vastly less than those of a canal. The experiments made in England seem to prove this in point of fact, and, reasoning *a priori*, one sees no reason to question it. To excavate for the purpose of a railway, can hardly be so costly as for a canal; the deviation must be less; the structure less solid and massive; and the difficulties of bridging greatly diminished. The face of the country does not alter the relative value of these two modes of conveyance; and as experience has manifested the superiority of the railway over the canal on levels, with the locomotive engine, so, where recourse must be had to lockage in the one, the difficulty is overcome, at a less expense, by the stationary engine on the other.

While the cost of construction and repair is less, the facility of transport on a railway is greater, as regards both expense and time. 'The use of locomotive engines,' says Strickland, 'in place of horses, has greatly changed the relative value of railways and canals.' The enormous expenses of shipping, and the detention incident to canals during floods, frosts, and drought, and while undergoing repairs, by retarding conveyance, greatly enhance its cost; and where great lockage is necessary, this delay is very much increased, and is irremediable. From the wear, likewise, of the embankments, and the resistance of the fluid, the speed cannot be conveniently increased on canals beyond a certain limit, under the most favorable circumstances. In certainty and celerity, therefore, two points so important in trade, the advantage is greatly on the side of railways. It is computed in the Report, that the time saved by the railroad on each trip from the Ohio to Baltimore would be one hundred and fiftytwo hours, and that even at the rate of four miles an hour (which, it is believed, may be doubled) the whole distance may be performed in sixtytwo hours and a half. The cost of transportation is proportionably lessened. By the canal, the cost of a ton from Pittsburg to Baltimore, at one cent and a half a mile, would be five dollars and eightyfive cents; and at the same rate, it would be but three dollars and

seventyfive cents by the railroad. But as the carriage on the latter might be done for one cent a mile per ton, the whole saving in the carriage of a single ton, would be three dollars and thirtyfive cents.

The territory interested in this enterprise, including the three states of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, thirteen counties of Virginia, nine of Pennsylvania, and four of Maryland, contains, at this moment a population of nearly two millions of people, not taking into account the states and districts which would derive an indirect advantage from it. The annual exports from this territory, have been estimated at three hundred and fifty thousand tons, of which, assuming that but one third, or one hundred and sixteen thousand tons, will take the course of the canal, and that the return trade will employ fifty thousand tons, the amount of tolls on the whole, at the rate of charge on the New York canals, would be seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, from which, deducting the interest of the capital invested, there would remain four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for repairs, contingent expenses, and surplus dividends.

We have thus briefly stated some of the calculations which have led to the conception of this scheme. Whether its achievement be within the means of the projectors, or practicable at all, at any moderate cost, we have too little knowledge either of the subject of railroads in general, or of the country through which the projected one is to pass, to hazard more than an opinion, and that, we confess, is favorable. The scheme is so important, however, in a national view, and would so effectually answer all the purposes of the canal in the same direction, for which surveys have been made by the general government, that its aid to this more feasible project, would not be unwise, and is not improbable. In the meantime, we learn that additional surveys will be made of the country to be traversed, and competent persons despatched to England, to procure the best information on the subject. Should the results be satisfactory, the work will be commenced without delay.

When we regard the situation of Baltimore, as respects the populous and productive empire growing up in her rear, and compared with that of the other great marts on the seaboard, there seems little doubt of her securing, in the event of her completing the proposed road, far the larger portion of the western trade. Her greater proximity (itself sufficient to turn

the scale in her favor, other circumstances being the same,) is accompanied by some other obvious advantages. To the perishable articles of western export, such as breadstuffs and other provisions, the climate of New Orleans, her first competitor, is extremely injurious, and to the damage of this merchandise must be added the no inconsiderable danger of life to the trader, in that unwholesome mart. Neither has the conveyance by the rivers, being liable to interruption by both drought and ice, the same certainty or duration as by a railroad, which may be used at all seasons, and the time of transit be computed to an hour. The imports to the west are still carried in waggons across the mountains, instead of ascending those rivers from New Orleans, and the construction of a railway would determine this branch of trade exclusively to that route. From the peculiar nature of the country bordering on the Mississippi and its tributaries, the dangers of the descending navigation of that river are unlikely to be ever effectually removed, to say nothing of the distance of New Orleans from the ocean, and from Europe.

Nor is it more probable that the western canal of New York will divert any considerable portion of this trade, especially that of the districts lying remote from lake Erie. Besides the disadvantage of the port of New York in point of distance, and the greater cost of shipping and the delay before alluded to (both of which will be much enhanced by the necessity of three or four different transshipments), that avenue must be closed by the climate during three or four of those months of the year which are most convenient to the farmer for bringing his produce to market. Even at this moment, the produce from the Susquehanna country bordering close on the canal, is brought by that river to Baltimore in the spring, and several thousand tons of merchandise are landed on her wharves before the canal is released from its icy bonds. This is an important evidence of the preferableness of a ready and early conveyance to market. Neither is it believed, that the Allegany ridge can be pierced with the same advantage, by a canal or a railway, at any point, either north or south of that projected by Baltimore. In both directions, the abruptness of the rocky ridge, or its remoteness from tide, or both, are greater than they are near the valley of the Potomac; while to the south, moreover, there is no port of consequence, convenient at once to the sea and to the interior. As the effect, in short, of the proposed road

will be to replace Baltimore on a level at least, with her rivals as to facility of conveyance, so her advantage in distance must restore to her that preeminence as a *depôt* of produce from the interior, which was one of the chief sources of her original prosperity. When it is remembered that the streams of commerce, like others, are determined in their course by the slightest circumstance, it seems highly probable that the tide of the western trade, especially from the middle regions, will, by one of such moment, be turned chiefly in the direction of Baltimore.

Any certain computation of the increase of trade, to which the pending project would give rise, is of course, not to be expected. The estimates of the Report do not appear to be exaggerated, and, indeed, conjecture can hardly approximate very closely the results of opening such an avenue to regions so extensive, populous, and fertile. In the article of grain, alone, the cost of production, including in it the carriage to market, would be so greatly diminished, as probably to establish Baltimore, for an indefinite period, an unrivalled mart for grain. There would be a proportional increase, from the like cause, of the other usual products of agricultural and manufacturing industry, as hemp, tobacco, flax, flaxseed, animal provision, lard, tallow, whiskey, iron, glass, &c; and cotton, instead of descending to New Orleans, would seek its way in large quantities, by this direct channel, to a seaport more convenient to the European markets.

But it is, perhaps, on the trade in the heavy and bulky products of the soil itself, that the influence of a cheap and practicable road to market, would be the most striking. The districts contiguous to the line of the railway, abound in coal of the best quality, in lime, slate, marble, freestone, marl, gypsum, and timber; but their great weight, and the want of economical communications, have rendered them hitherto of little or no value to the proprietors of the soil. The commerce in these would therefore be rather created than augmented, and that to an extent which may be conjectured from the single fact, that at present the lime used in Washington, is brought from Rhode Island, when there lies an inexhaustible supply of it at her very doors. The value of the fuel abounding in this district would be so much the greater to Maryland, as that state possesses immense stores of iron ore of the most valuable kind, which will long outlast the supply of fuel from the present sources; to say

nothing of the impulse which, in the increasing use of steam power, would be given to innumerable other manufactures, in a port convenient for shipping them elsewhere. But to descend to the particulars of this extensive subject, would much exceed our limits. There is, however, one branch of trade, which, at a small cost, will add materially to the luxury of the table in the interior ; we mean in fresh fish and oysters ; to commodities of this sort, as well as fresh fruits and vegetables from the interior, the saving of time in conveyance is everything. By the present slow transport, sea fish and oysters are wholly denied to districts remote from the coast ; and as the Chesapeake and its waters abound in these, a new branch of industry, and a great augmentation of their tonnage, would accrue to the nautical population inhabiting the shores of the bay.

A mode of communication of which the celerity may be increased so far beyond that of any other, is especially advantageous in this country, whose population is comparatively sparse, and so many of whose most fertile districts lie extremely remote from the sea. If this circumstance be so important to the trade of England, no part of whose interior lies farther than perhaps a hundred miles from a seaport, of what moment must it be to the vast districts beyond the Ohio, some of which are distant two thousand miles from New Orleans, none of them nearer to an Atlantic port than two hundred and fifty ; and the greater part distant more than five hundred ? On the height of land between the Ohio and the Atlantic, there lies an extensive district, especially valuable for pasturage, which, being remote from both, is now desert and valueless, when compared with the districts on either side. On these tracts, fertile in vegetable and probably much more so in mineral treasures, the completion of a way to market would operate with immense benefit, and open new fountains of trade at a point comparatively near to the Atlantic ports.

In the western states the combined effect of the abundance of food and of the remoteness of a market, would naturally be the rapid introduction of manufactures ; while, on the other hand, any diminution of the expense of getting their agricultural products to a market, and, from the like cause, of obtaining their supply of foreign fabrics in return, would, it is to be presumed, as naturally retard the extension of domestic manufacture. As this circumstance would prolong in this country the

present extensive importation of British fabrics and other foreign dry goods, so that importation would naturally be made to the port most convenient for distributing them into the interior. In the event, therefore, of the completion of the railway, Baltimore would probably share largely with New York in that important branch of trade, at present nearly engrossed by the latter, if she did not finally attract the larger portion of it. At any rate, her importance as a mere *depôt* of goods to be conveyed to the west, would be very greatly augmented. And as speed and certainty are not less important to the dealer himself, than in the conveyance of his commodities, this route, and mode of conveyance, would have the preference in every case, except of mere pleasure. The conveyance of travellers on a route the shortest and most used, would, in the great and increasing intercourse between the east and the west, be of itself a lucrative source of income to the proprietors of the railway, and of profit to the towns on its course, and at its respective terminations.

In counting the cost of such an enterprise as that which the people of Baltimore have embarked in, it is but fair in the computation, to oppose the magnitude of the results to that of the attempt, as the adventurousness of the latter is proportionally justified by the benefits of the former. In this view, the zeal exhibited by Baltimore on this subject, is no more than we should expect from a rational enterprise. On the one hand her importance will be infinitely magnified by success; on the other, it is certain that, without some more practicable and convenient communication with the west, than she now has, the trade of that quarter, which has heretofore conferred on her such extraordinary advantages, will be in a great measure grasped by more enterprising or more fortunate competitors. The necessary investment of capital, will not, perhaps, be greater than what has already been profitably bestowed on the numerous turnpike roads, which she has constructed, into the interior. We find among the directors of the company incorporated for carrying this scheme into effect, the names of some of her most conspicuous inhabitants; men who have large interests at issue, and whose wealth is the accumulation of many years of industry and commercial sagacity. We have reason to believe that the greater part of the stock subscribed, is held by persons who have no purpose of speculation, but who are determined to give the practicableness of the scheme a

cautious and thorough investigation, and then to prosecute it to a completion, if within the compass of their means. As a great national work, we shall feel much interest in seeing it brought to a successful termination, and shall probably have occasion to notice hereafter the inquiries which, in the course of the summer, are to be pursued, both at home and abroad, in reference to it.

After witnessing the many triumphs of science in the present age, we confess we are more inclined to confide in speculations reasonable in themselves, and to hope that railroads may add as largely to the facilities of commerce, as canals have done before them. It is certain, at least, that if this large enterprise of Baltimore be brought to a happy issue, its benefits will be of the first importance, not to that mart alone, but to the general commerce of the country; and in this latter point of view it highly merits attention from the government of the union.

ART. IV.—*A Selection from the English Prose Works of*
JOHN MILTON. In two vols. 12mo. Boston. Bowles
& Dearborn. 1826.

THE prose writings of Milton, though they have been praised and recommended by a few who have felt their astonishing power and beauty, are yet but little known among us. We hope, however, that this will not long be the case; and that the excellent edition by Mr Jenks, of which the title stands at the head of this article, will enable many to read the prose of a man with whose poetry they have long been familiar—prose, we will venture to say, hardly inferior to his poetry. As Americans, as lovers of freedom, improvement, and truth, we wish to see these two volumes widely circulated among our countrymen, and deeply read. They are fit manuals for a free people. They are full of those eloquent, soul stirring, holy lessons of liberty, which do something more than simply persuade and convince the mind; which give it purpose, and principle, and firm resolve; which brace up the heart, while they strengthen the understanding; which render timidity or apostacy impossible; which, at the same time that they impart the feeling of discipleship, infuse the spirit of martyrdom;

because the truths which they inculcate are of such a nature, that those who receive them must contend, and if needs be, must die for them. Therefore it is that we earnestly desire to see the prose works of John Milton generally disseminated; and that we hail with pleasure and gratitude every attempt to make them known. When they are known, it cannot be but that they will produce their impression, and be estimated by many, as they are now estimated by a few, according to their real value.

For ourselves, we can truly say that we never knew Milton, till we were acquainted with his prose writings. We never knew the man till then; never felt how entirely and supremely he was a poet, or, to use his own words, 'a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things.' We never knew till then, what a noble, highminded being, what a contemner of littleness and baseness, what a fearless asserter of right and denouncer of wrong, how pure, how virtuous, how incorruptible, how unconquerable he was. How truly the modern poet speaks of him, when he says; 'His soul was as a star, and dwelt apart.' When we now compare him with his brother stars, we perceive that he has indeed his own separate heaven, where he shines alone, and not to be approached. If we grant that in the single respect of genius he was second to Shakspeare, and to him alone would we grant him to be second, yet what was Shakspeare's life? what were his occupations, studies, principles? We know nothing of them; they made no impression on the world; they have passed away, and left us no trace; they have procured no respect for the man. We think of Shakspeare's poetry, and not of Shakspeare. His name comes to us as a voice, an abstraction, a beautiful sound. But the name of Milton is inseparably united with the man himself; with the image of his life; with his studious, blameless, brilliant youth; with his diligent, useful, resolute manhood; with his unbroken and undaunted, though blind and neglected old age; with learning, various, profound, unrivalled; with opinions really liberal, and republican; with convictions which no fear nor flattery could shake; with principles which grew up from the very roots of truth. We will not proceed with other comparisons, which readily suggest themselves to us. They may be pursued by those who are sensible that genius of mind alone ranks far below what may be called genius of life; genius of mind united in admira-

ble consistency with genius of action, genius of purpose, and genius of heart.

There is another thing with which the prose writings of Milton brought us acquainted. We never knew, till we read them, the whole power of our mother tongue. Let him who would understand how rich, how copious, how forcible the English language is, study the prose of Milton, and make himself familiar with his style; but let him not attempt to imitate, let him not hope to equal the master, unless he feel within himself the master's gifts and the master's soul.

But if such is the prose of the great poet, how happens it that it is not more generally known? How happens it that this magazine of just and noble thoughts, high imaginations, and burning words, has been in a manner shut up and unvisited? How happens it, that while the *Paradise Lost* has been printed in every form and size, in editions without number, for the rich and for the poor, illustrated by the artist, and furnished with notes and commentaries by distinguished scholars, as if it were an ancient classic, that the *Areopagitica*, *The Reason of Church Government*, *The Animadversions*, have been rarely published, and sparingly read?

The two principal reasons of the want of popularity of Milton's prose works, have been usually stated, and truly, to be the peculiarities of their style, and the nature and management of their topics. Of their style we shall say a few words by and by. Of their topics, and the management of them, in which the great cause of their unpopularity is decidedly to be found, we shall speak at once, and more at length.

The prose writings, then, of Milton, are all, both Latin and English, with only one or two exceptions, strictly, and many would say, bitterly controversial. They are theological and political controversies. They wear, therefore, a formidable and forbidding aspect to the generality of readers; for controversy is not a favorite kind of reading; it requires more thought and a more severe and constant exercise of judgment, candor, patience, and equanimity, than most people are willing or able to bestow and apply; it is rarely conducted by the disputants without more or less asperity; it has acquired a bad name; it is called, by distinction, a thorny path; and many think they cannot walk in it without danger to their faces and their clothes, and therefore they decline it with terror and aversion. Now we profess ourselves to be great friends of controversy. We

regard it with respect and favor, if not absolutely with love. If it is not a pleasant and flowery way, it is the direct road to light and knowledge; and if so, why do we talk about thorns, as if we expected to reach any of the supreme and permanent blessings of life, treading all the distance on turf and roses? We are glad that the glorious bard made it his adopted path, and that he pursued it with so untired, so forward, and so firm a step. We would not have had him write on any other subjects but those, which not only singularly involved the destinies of England at the period of his writing, but are inseparably connected with the present, future, lasting welfare of the world. He was peculiarly fitted to elicit and establish truth by controversy; which we are persuaded is its proper, and almost its peculiar office. For the confirmation of this sentiment, we will take the liberty of offering our reasons.

False teachers will arise in all ages, and deceive many; some of them intending to deceive, and others having no such intention. Dreams will be announced as realities, and believed as such; and realities will be scouted as dreams. There is such a perpetual warfare between truth and error in the world, that the old Manichean notion of two great opposing principles of good and evil, who, with their kingdoms of light and darkness, are engaged in constant and tremendous battle, would be little more than an accurate account of the real state of things, if it were stripped of its personifications and oriental imagery. There is a battle between good and evil; there is a struggle between the powers of light and darkness. Knowledge and virtue are in perpetual conflict with ignorance and vice; and whatever advantages the former may from time to time gain over the latter, the latter are mighty antagonists, who will no doubt maintain the contest obstinately and long.

If the champions of error would in all cases avow themselves to be so; if they would write their name and their purpose on their banners, and send an open defiance, like him of Gath, against the armies of the living God, the contest might be brought to a more certain and speedy issue; but there are few of them who do not profess, either sincerely or insincerely, to be on the side of truth and virtue; and thus they become doubly mischievous by being disguised, and occasion the double necessity of unmasking and overcoming them. Many teachers of what is false and of a pernicious tendency, are as honest as it is possible for self-deceiving humanity to be. They are the first, and

most thorough believers of their own dreams; and are fully persuaded that they are dreaming for the cause of truth and the general welfare. The same honest language is held by those who are not actuated by the same pure motives; by those who uphold falsehood for the sake of their own private interests, or through the incitement of their bad passions, but do not confess the influence which guides and sways them, because they know that interest and passion, however powerful in themselves, are worse than powerless when presented as arguments to others; for he who wishes to be heard with the least patience by his neighbor, must appear to be anxious for his neighbor's good, not merely careful of his own. Tyrants talk of the safety of the state, and the happiness of their people, without saying much about the sweets of absolute power, and the indulgence of all their appetites and luxurious wishes. Indeed, it is not unfrequently the case that interest is louder in its professions of disinterestedness than is disinterestedness itself; for virtue is modest, and hypocrisy is bold; and a part that is acted is likely to be overacted.

To detect error is to overthrow it. But the most desperate antagonists of truth will not allow that they are in the wrong, or, in other words, that they are attacking what really is truth. The world is filled with falsehood, which never calls itself by that name. The diversities of human intellect and feeling, and the influences of education, habit, and passion, give rise to innumerable errors, which agree together in two points, in being of a bad tendency, and in assuming the name of truth. On the one hand is falsehood, which thinks itself to be truth; and on the other hand is falsehood, which is resolved, if possible, to be thought so too, whatever it may think itself. Hence come theories, systems, and plans, varying from each other, and from truth in different degrees; and, just in proportion as they vary from truth, conducing to unhappiness, if not immediately, yet in their remote effects. Wrong opinions and views tend to wrong conduct, and wrong conduct seeks to defend or excuse itself by maintaining plausible and nicely worded opinions. These are the consequences, natural and inevitable, of human freedom and human imperfection, the bitter fruits of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, plucked from the beginning, and harshly infused into the mingled cup of life. Men are in a state of discipline; and these are the weaknesses, disorders, and rebellions of their pupilage. They are in training

for that heavenly harmony which is the end of the Divine government ; and these are the sad discords of their inexperience and perverseness, which break in upon the universal melody, and disturb the pure song of the stars.

Surrounded on all sides by bad principles, false opinions, and doubtful disputations, what then is the duty of the sincere, serious, impartial lover of truth ? What is his duty, in view of the evils which result from erroneous doctrines, and in regard to those who inculcate them ? It plainly consists in moral courage and intrepidity ; in affording a fair and fearless audience to all propositions, and advancing a faithful avowal and defence of his own convictions of truth. To enjoin silence by authority, or attempt to enforce it by penalties, on those who would proclaim their free thoughts, whether for good or evil, is not only a fruitless, but an unwise and an unrighteous expedient. The endeavor to suppress presumed error by physical power, is itself an error of uncommon magnitude ; as great as any which it would suppress ; and one which the world is beginning to get rid of, by that best of all methods of suppression, consent and dearly bought experience. Opinions are like certain plants, which thrive, and spread, and weave their roots more firmly together, by being trodden upon and used roughly. The basket which the Corinthian woman set upon the young acanthus, was speedily overtopped and hidden by the rank and resolute leaves which sprung up from beneath it. There is a pride in man which always rises against pressure ; and a sympathy in man which takes the part of an oppressed brother. Besides, to punish error is only to proclaim it, and to proclaim without refuting it. Punishment cannot reach the silent and secret thoughts of men ; but that which is punished may ; and that which is received in secret, will secretly make its progress, undermining and destroying, like a poison without its antidote ; for mere force, or mere denunciation, is no antidote for the mind.

The only way to deal with error is, to meet it, face to face ; to examine it critically, feature by feature ; to question it boldly, and to answer it fairly. To fly from it, is to tempt it to advance. To fear it, is to acknowledge its power, and to increase it ; to wrong, moreover, the power of truth ; to misapprehend the very nature of truth ; to doubt the reality of its existence, the divinity of its origin, and the strength and durability of its foundations ; to give up the world to the dominion

of darkness, and the reign of the evil principle ; to deny, practically, that there is anything progressive in intellect, or useful in investigation, or conclusive in reason, or attainable in knowledge. What is it that we fear ? Do we fear that God has so constituted the human mind, in relation to whatever is made to concern it, or come before it, that it has no final ability to discern between what is good and what is bad ; what is stable and what is fleeting ; what is and what is not ? Do we fear that our Creator has ordained such an affinity between error and the rational part of those whom we are constrained to call his rational creatures, that the two agree more constantly, and always will agree more constantly and lovingly together, than will the latter and truth ? Do we fear that error will naturally bear examination more steadfastly and successfully than truth ? or that the human mind necessarily supports what is false, with more ease and vigor than what is real ? or that those minds which espouse the cause of evil, are constantly stronger than those which take the good side ? or that vice is portioned with such convincing arguments, that virtue cannot answer them ? Do we fear these things ? Do we apprehend that this is the course and order of the moral world ? Then ought our life to be one perpetual fear ; we should fear the government of the universe, and the dispensations of eternity.

But if we do not fear that man is made more capable and susceptible of error than of truth, and that error is endowed from above with a permanent superiority here below, then error is not to be feared, but to be faced and opposed. If there is any falsehood which should terrify us, it is that which lives in our own houses, and speaks from our own hearts ; and even that, perhaps, is to be handled severely rather than timidly ; but that which comes from without, as it must come, and there is no help for it, so let it come. Let the prophet that hath a dream, tell his dream ; let us hear it, and know what it is, so that it may be found to be a dream, and no reality. So long as men will proclaim their fancies, and other men will hear them, let them unburthen themselves ; and let them not disperse their spurious ware abroad, till it has undergone its inspection, and received its brand. Error is a disease incident to humanity ; and we cannot fly from it ; and as there are no means of general prevention, let it develope itself, that we may see it and trace it, and steadily administer its cure. Fear and ignorance go together ; and those who timidly shrink from error, are in the way of

losing the opportunity of much truth ; for truth is often descried by comparison, and the manifestation of that, which among many things presented, is the most worthy. By sifting the dust we discover the diamonds ; which, though hidden in the earth, and crusted over with earth, are diamonds still.

Let every ambitious imagination, therefore, take its own course, and come out and show itself. And let not its consequence be needlessly increased by a vain and unreasonable terror, which refuses to confront and rebuke it. It would be a pity, indeed, if all the zeal, and all the courage, and all the alertness, were to be exhibited on the wrong side, and cowardice and torpor alone were to be seen on the right.

At the same time that it is our duty, and also our policy, to be fearless in regarding error, it is our duty to be intrepid in declaring the truth. If truth is of any value, we should maintain it as if we valued it. If it is of any certain benefit to mankind, we should proclaim it, as the well wishers of our race. If it is the cause of Heaven, we should plead for it earnestly, as the partakers of a spiritual existence, and the heirs of immortality. If we believe that infinite wisdom and rectitude govern the world, we should join ourselves to its interests, and contend for its rights, as for the course which will finally and completely triumph. He who is convinced that he has the living word within his bosom, has no right to keep it shut up there, pining and drooping for air and light and action. It must go forth and do its work, which is to oppose every false invention of man, and bring it to trial and to condemnation. He who thinks that error and vice are destructive of the best interests of society, and of his own too, as connected with and forming a part of them, what has he to do, but to be the faithful advocate of religion and virtue, if he thinks that religion and virtue are contrary to error and vice, and to be preferred before them ? If a man has no settled principles of right, why does he talk about error, or even pretend to fear it ? Neither error nor truth is anything to him. But if he is possessed of settled principles, why does he suffer fear, or fashion, or any motive in the world, to shake his confidence, or prevent him from declaring his convictions ?

Even in questions which are called doubtful, because they divide honest and well meaning opinions, the lover of truth is to pursue the same course, whenever he has taken his side candidly and with understanding ; and he always will take his

side, as soon as he is satisfied that the subject is of sufficient importance to claim his decision. These questions generally grow less and less doubtful every day, the more they are examined and discussed, and the more liberally they are handled. Experience is a principal test of truth ; and as truth is founded on reality, or rather is reality itself, it will sooner or later be made manifest by that test. Sooner or later ; for in speaking of so long lived a thing as opinion, which dies not with one generation of men, but enjoys a spiritual and transmitted existence, we must not confine ourselves to short periods of time, but extend our view far behind and far before,—back even to the day when man was created, and forward to any limit within the bounds of probability. We are too apt to become impatient, when we cannot see favorite opinions confirmed in our own lifetime. Our own lifetime is but a moment ; is but a single beat of the pendulum which measures out the solemn and majestic progress of the ages. We must not attach so much importance to the period of our life. The epochs of mind and morals must be regarded in conjunction with the life of our world ; nor must even that life be considered as a long one, as it respects that part of it which is past. The days of its years have as yet, probably been few, in comparison with those which are still to be numbered. In the mean time, our lives, though short, compose the age of the world, and our labors and inquiries, by their accumulation, must bring about the world's improvement, and add, however gradually, to its experience. The duty involves a struggle, but it is not therefore to be avoided.

Thus thought Milton ; and as he thought, so he acted. Not the shadow of a doubt seems ever to have passed over his mind, of the worth and the might of truth ; and he scorned with a lofty indignation all aids to her cause, but those which were offered by God's good spirit, and man's free mind. ' For who knows not,' says he, ' that truth is strong, next to the Almighty ; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings, to make her victorious ; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power ; give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps ; for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound.'

With these convictions, Milton never hesitated in his course. Living in a time of great mental as well as physical conflict

and distraction, and conscious of the talents which, like powerful engines of warfare, had been given into his trust, he plunged into the mid battle of political and theological controversy, as if it were at once his place and his privilege to contend for the rights of mankind. Though he loved peace, he loved truth more ; he loved the souls of men ; ‘ which is the dearest love, and stirs up to the noblest jealousy.’ He preferred his duty before his rest. He knew the toil and danger which awaited him ; but he knew also that he had taken his part in ‘ the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.’ His great soul was in itself gentle and open as day, and in gentler times would not have appeared in so warlike a guise. He would willingly have framed his measures to the concords of peace ; ‘ but,’ to use again his own matchless speech, ‘ when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man’s will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal.’ The voice of duty, and the testimony of conscience, were to him the command of God ; he did take the trumpet, and blow a blast ‘ of which all Europe rang from side to side ;’ a blast which even yet is not silent, but has come echoing down from year to year to us of the present, and will still go sounding on, clear toned and thrilling, through the unknown depths of future time, and from region to region of the globe, till nations will hear and be roused up, that now are dead, and the heart of the whole world shall beat, like the heart of a single champion, at the summons of truth and liberty.

The two principal objects of Milton’s attack, were the dignities, dogmas, and ceremonies of English prelacy and kingly forms of government. In his victorious career he met and overthrew all arguments from prescription, antiquity, and a false prudence and caution. He was awed by nothing human ; he despised all temporizing and halfway expedients in matters of great moment, all timid recipes of confections and potherbs for violent and critical disorders ; and he was not afraid of going too far in the direction of truth, or of announcing her dictates too boldly. We cannot, however, in any way give so clear an exposition of his polemical spirit and style, as by quoting some passages from his works. Our first extract shall be from that splendid tract, the ‘ Areopagitica ; a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.’ The paragraph, as will readily be seen, is an answer to the plea that an unrestricted

press becomes the source of schisms, and crowds of new and dangerous opinions.

‘ And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others, and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a kingdom, with strong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing. But yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities and more than common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further and to go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of God’s enlightening his church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confined, where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and assemblies, and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the old Convocation house, and another while in the chapel at Westminster, when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonized, is not sufficient without plain conviction, and the charity of patient instruction, to supply the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no, though Harry the Seventh himself there, with all his liege tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our selfwill, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly, with liberal and frequent audience, if not for their sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armory of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the priests nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haste of a precip-

itant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them, no less than woe to us, while, thinking thus to defend the gospel, we are found the persecutors !' Vol. II. pp. 69, 70.

We are mistaken if our readers do not find some passages here, which could have flowed from but few pens beside that of the author of *Paradise Lost*. Let us take another beautiful and indignant burst of eloquence from 'The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.' He denies the power of the prelates to prevent schism ; and while we are reading this passage, as well as others in which prelacy is mentioned and inveighed against, we must bear in mind what the establishment had been in the writer's time, and how little reason he had to view it with respect or indulgence.

'It was not the prevention of schism, but it was schism itself, and the hateful thirst of lording in the church, that first bestowed a being upon prelacy ; this was the true cause, but the pretence is still the same. The prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mauls of schism. Forsooth, if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow ; we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists. And thus do they raise an evil report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for ; like those faithless spies, whose carcasses shall perish in the wilderness of their own confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Do they keep away schism ? If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of mind upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all ; if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schism, they keep away schism indeed ; and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politically kept from schism as England hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, It is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes ; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring ; I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapors ; Yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hidebound frost ; but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring

hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thank to your bondage. But far worse than any frozen captivity is the bondage of prelates; for that other, if it keep down anything which is good within the earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill; but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keep down the lesser ill, and let out the greatest.' Vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

Again, to the same purpose is the following paragraph from the next chapter.

'As for those many sects and divisions rumored abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceive that they are partly the mere fictions and false alarms of the prelates, thereby to cast amazements and panic terrors into the hearts of weaker Christians, that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the church, for fear of I know not what worse inconveniences. With the same objected fears and suspicions, we know that subtle prelate, Gardner, sought to divert the reformation. It may suffice us to be taught by St Paul, that there must be sects for the manifesting of those that are soundhearted. These are but winds and flaws to try the floating vessel of our faith, whether it be stanch and sail well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seen who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whose virtue is of an unchangeable grain, and whose of a slight wash. If God come to try our constancy, we ought not to shrink or stand the less firmly for that, but pass on with more steadfast resolution to establish the truth, though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side.' Vol. i. p. 131.

But almost every page is alive with the same energy, and redolent of the same poetical fragrance. The style is warm, surely. Who would wish it cold? The expressions are glowing. How could they have been dull and dim, from such a man, in such a time, and against such opponents? But if apology were needed, who would ask a better than the following one, or who would refuse to accept it?

'And here withal I invoke the immortal Deity, revealer and judge of secrets, that wherever I have in this book plainly and roundly, though worthily and truly, laid open the faults and blemishes of fathers, martyrs, or Christian emperors, or have otherwise inveighed against error and superstition with vehement expressions; I have done it, neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vainglory, but of mere necessity to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteem, that she is like to find

small credit with us for what she can say, unless she can bring a ticket from Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, or prove herself a retainer to Constantine, and wear his badge. More tolerable it were for the church of God, that all these names were utterly abolished like the brazen serpent, than that men's fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated.' Vol. i. p. 9.

We are aware, however, that a heavier charge can be brought and sustained against Milton, than the controversial nature of his writings, or the force and warmth of their language. That language is not only forcible and warm; it is occasionally intemperate and abusive, highly so. We may say, that it is not wonderful, that excited and exasperated as the political and religious independents of England had been, their writers should have revenged themselves by harsh and scurrilous retorts; but we cannot help a feeling of disappointment, that the spirit of Milton did not sustain itself above such a low species of contention.

Of the literary faults of his style, the principal seem to be, the Latin forms in which his sentences were often cast, and the almost interminable length to which many of them were drawn out. These, together with the tinge of antiquity which time has imparted to it, render his prose somewhat of a study to those who are not accustomed to the old writers. But the difficulty is no greater than a little practice will overcome; till at last the taste will be pleased with peculiarities which at first greatly offended, or at least perplexed it. We will here introduce a quotation from his 'Reason of Church Government,' in which his chief faults are exemplified. It consists of but one sentence, though we confess one of the longest, if not the longest in these volumes; and it is pretty well seasoned with abuse, though not with the worst which his writings furnish. If it did not also present much of his true and characteristic vigor and richness, we should not have exhibited its appalling dimensions to our readers. This, too, is an invective against the Church of England and its ministers.

'The service of God, who is truth, her liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom; but her works and her opinions declare that the service of prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falsehood; which makes me wonder much that many of the gentry, studious men, as I hear, should engage themselves to write, and speak publicly in her defence; but that I believe their honest and ingenuous natures, coming to the universities to store them-

selves with good and solid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing else but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry, were sent home again with such a scholastical bur in their throats. as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering, cracked their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms, and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men, prelatically addicted, whose unchastened and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or subdued under the true lore of religion or moral virtue, which two are the best and greatest points of learning, but either slightly trained up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney course of literature to get their living by, and dazzle the ignorant, or else fondly overstudied in useless controversies, except those which they use with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta, having a gospel and church government set before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exercise the greatest virtues and the greatest deeds of christian authority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world; which even the sage heathen writers, and those old Fabricii and Curii well knew to be a manner of working, than which nothing could liken a mortal man more to God, who delights most to work from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instruments; they understand it not, and think no such matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honors, with an easy and intemperate life, to the bane of Christianity; yea, they and their seminaries shame not to profess, to petition, and never leave pealing our ears, that unless we fat them like boars, and cram them as they list with wealth, with deaneries and pluralities, with baronies and stately preferments, all learning and religion will go under foot; which is such a shameless, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in churchmen, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who should teach us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in baptism, that should the scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of philosophers among the heathen so dissolute, no not Epicurus, nor Aristippus with all his Cyrenaic rout, but would shut his schooldoors against such greasy sophisters; not any college of mountebanks, but would think scorn to discover in themselves, with such a brazen forehead, the outrageous desire of filthy lucre, which the prelates make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians, under the names of horrible schismatics, for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruel authority over their brethren

that labor in the word, while they snore in their luxurious excess, openly proclaiming themselves now in the sight of all men, to be those which for a while they sought to cover under sheep's clothing, ravenous and savage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey; more like that huge dragon of Egypt, breathing out waste and desolation to the land, unless he were daily fattened with virgin's blood. Vol. I. pp. 177—179.

We should not be surprised, if this proved to be one of the longest periods on record. Such a tax upon patience is hardly to be borne, and not to be paid without a serious protest.

But to return for a moment to the more important topic of Milton's opinions. They were evidently in advance of the age,—too much so to be generally received. They are even now in advance of the world, and for a long time to come, perhaps, will continue to be so. On the subjects of toleration, religious liberty, civil and political rights, education, and the duties and prospects of men, he will forever be on an equal line with the most improved age; for he marched forward at once to the utmost boundary of truth. His treatise on the 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' notwithstanding the side which it takes, is in its whole tendency favorable to purity and virtue. The domestic unhappiness with which he himself was afflicted, led him to consider this subject, and no doubt had its influence on his views of it. He convinced himself, and endeavored to convince others, that divorce should be granted on the grounds of opposition of sentiments, habits, temper, and feelings between the parties. But with whatever learning and fervor and skill he maintained this opinion, the convictions of the wisest, most virtuous, and most liberal of mankind have been decidedly against it, and have pronounced it false. We look on this instance as a remarkable proof of the grand principle which pervades all his works, that truth will at last prevail. It has prevailed over eloquence like his.

We quit the subject of this article with reluctance. But we have only time again to recommend Mr Jenks's Selection to the public. It contains several of Milton's treatises entire, and all that is valuable, either for style or sentiment, in the rest. It is confined to his English prose only; as the object of the editor was 'to make the English reader better acquainted with Milton's own prose, not the prose of any translator.' The

Selection is prefaced by a historical account, exceedingly well drawn up, of his works, both English and Latin; and further to bespeak general favor for these two volumes, we would remark that they afford to the reader, for the moderate price of three dollars, what he could not otherwise obtain for ten times the sum.

ART. V.—1. *Manifiesto que el Poder Ejecutivo de Colombia presenta a la Republica, y al Mundo sobre los Acontecimientos de Venezuela, desde el 30 de Abril del presente Año de 1826*—16. Bogotá. 1826.

2. *Documento Curioso sobre los Acontecimientos de Venezuela, etc. Carta Confidencial del Vice-presidente de la Republica al Jeneral José Antonio Paez*. Bogotá. 1826.

3. *Respuesta del Jeneral Paez a la Carta Confidencial, que le dirigió el Vice-presidente de la Republica, etc.* Bogotá. 1826.

4. *Ejecucion del Decreto del Poder Ejecutivo, para Alistamiento en las Milicias, que motivó la Acusacion del Jeneral en Jefe José Antonio Paez, ante el Senado*. Valencia. 1826.

MEN are prone to magnify objects removed far back in the mists of antiquity, and to ascribe undue consequence to those incidents, which have acquired historical celebrity. It was the just observation of a classic author, *Quòd naturaliter audita visis laudamus libentiùs, et præsentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione prosequimur*. Were it not so, we should certainly attach higher importance to many events actually taking place; events, which must render our day as much the object of deep interest to posterity as ages gone by are to ourselves. There is no period in the history of man without its memorable vicissitudes, full of instruction,—its marked individual, a Cæsar, Washington, Bonaparte, or Bolivar, towering like a beacon above the ever rolling tide of time, and seeming ordained to fulfil an extraordinary destiny. Why regard the monuments of the past so intently as to forget that we ourselves already stand recorded in the book of fate, and to overlook the striking features of our own brief hour? The progress of

revolution is not arrested, merely because Napoleon reposes in his island grave, no more to disturb the nations with fear of change. England has but just dismembered another empire to swell her vast dominion in the east. Russia is gaining new provinces on the shores of the Caspian,

‘The Athenian has waked from his ages of sloth ;’

and Greece once again is contending with the barbarian for liberty. But much as the old world affords for contemplation, it is little when compared with the spectacle, which the emancipated nations of America exhibit.

Here an immense region is agitated by the mighty interests, which, thrown into conflict by recent and sudden liberation from colonial bondage, have not yet had time to subside into the regular channels of established action. To inspire us with lively interest in the condition of Spanish America, it would be sufficient that independence is the rallying cry of its inhabitants, and the United States the leading star by which their bravest and wisest and purest patriots are found to be guided.

The calculating politician must look to them as a people with whom our public concerns, already closely connected, will continue to be more and more intimately allied. The profound observer of events will discover new cause of admiration in the nature of the countries, and the character of the races, which are there subjected to the sweeping career of revolution. War in South America is not a succession of sieges ; nor is it decided by ranged battle, fought in the circumstances, and according to the systematic rules of ordinary combat. The very names of Mexico, Peru, awaken a crowd of high associations, speaking to us of splendid empires, raised into greatness but to fall before the daring achievements of a handful of heroes, and after centuries of servitude, now once more enjoying a nobler independence than when swayed by the sceptre of Manco Capac, or Montezuma. The scenery of our own country is rich, compared with that of Europe, in majestic forests, mighty rivers, and the wide surface of inland seas. But how much sublimer still are the grand creations, which the hand of nature has lavished on the tropical regions of this continent, where the great battles of Colombian independence have been fought ! There, in the midst of the stupendous ridges and awful *quebradas* of the Andes, or beside the waters of the magnificent Orinoco, the struggling parties contended, in regions shaken

by subterranean fires, for the dominion of cities, like Bogotá and Quito, enthroned thousands of feet above the level of the ocean among the lofty heights of Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, or Pichincha.

Of the bold spirits formed amid scenes like these, one of the most remarkable is José Antonio Paez. The dragon's teeth of civil war, planted there by the hand of discord, sprang up into a host of armed warriors. Many a bright genius was struck out in the collisions of a revolution, which might otherwise have slumbered forever in obscurity, or have been known only for qualities of a doubtful and questioned character. Such is Paez, a soldier by nature, if we may use the expression ; a man who rose of a sudden to power and glory, distinguished for his martial gallantry, intrepidity, and successful enterprise in the field ; which, on many signal occasions, exerted the most decisive control upon the fortunes of war.

Among the natural riches of Colombia are the vast plains of the old province of Varinas, watered by the great river Apure, and numerous smaller streams. These fertile savannahs are covered with luxuriant herbage, which affords pasturage to innumerable herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and droves of horses and mules, in which consist the wealth and commerce of the country. The inhabitants are many of them mulattoes, and all a bold and hardy race, active, vigorous, familiar with danger, accustomed to the saddle from infancy ; in fact, the Tartars of America. Born a *llanero*, being naturally of a daring, impetuous temper, and endued with uncommon native sagacity, Paez had early acquired great ascendancy over the wild herdsmen of his province, by exhibiting those traits of hardihood and dexterity, which, in a rude state of society, confer superiority on their possessor. When the revolution broke out, using his influence to collect around him a body of dauntless cavalry, he commenced a partisan warfare, in which his prowess rendered him the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of his intrepid followers. Such a man could not fail of speedily attracting the attention of Bolivar, who gave him a command in the regular army, and duties to perform, suited to the genius of himself and his half disciplined troops, whose furious onset, when led by their favorite chief, was generally irresistible.

Previous to the famous battle of Carabobo, which established the military reputation of General Paez, he repeatedly distinguished himself on occasions of smaller importance. Thus, in

the spring of 1817, we find him beating, near San Fernando de Apure, a large royalist force under Morillo, on their way from Santa Fé to reinforce the Spanish troops in Caracas. Not long afterwards, he took possession of Calabozo, and by that means the patriots obtained entire control of the plains of Guayana, Varinas, Cumaná, Barcelona, and Caracas. But to recount all the military successes of Paez, would be to describe a large portion of the pitched battles of the most desperate period of the revolutionary conflict. Throughout Morillo's sanguinary campaigns, the indefatigable Paez continually attacked his van, or hung upon his rear, always present where execution was to be done. In this *guerra de muerte*, Paez did not uniformly escape without severe loss; but if it happened, as in the obstinate engagement in the plains of Cojedós, that his cavalry were cut up or disabled, he had but to retire for a while to the banks of the Apure, and he soon returned with fresh bands of *llaneros*, as daring and irresistible as their predecessors.

In the campaign of 1821, after various minor engagements, the Spanish generals La Torre and Morales concentrated their forces in Carabobo, which Bolívar determined to attack. Having effected a junction with Paez in the plains of Tinaquillo, their whole united army of about five thousand men, numerically equal to the enemy, but in actual force inferior, was divided into three corps. In their advance on Carabobo, the patriots found themselves under the necessity of penetrating a narrow precipitous defile, the heights commanding which were covered with the royalist artillery. Paez had charge of the leading division, consisting, among other troops, of fifteen hundred horse, and of the battalions aptly termed *Los Bravos del Apure*. Without waiting for the remaining divisions to come up, Paez immediately pushed forward to the assault, leading his troops in person; and in spite of the superior advantages of the Spaniards, his overwhelming impetuosity drove them from their intrenchments with great slaughter, and decided the battle in the short space of half an hour. Sedeño, who commanded the second division, enraged, says Bolívar in his despatch, that his corps could not from the obstacles of the ground, join in the battle, 'charged singly a mass of infantry, and fell in its centre, in the heroic manner that ought to close the career of the bravest of Colombia's brave.' So meritorious was the conduct of Paez in this glorious victory, which may be considered as

decisive of the independence of Colombia, that Bolivar, in the name of the Congress offered on the field of battle to appoint him general in chief of the army.

While bestowing his due share of praise upon the warlike talents of Paez, we intend no disparagement of his brave compatriots in arms, of Bolivar, the leading genius of the whole revolution ; of Santander, Bermudez, Mariño, Padilla, Montilla, Urdaneta, Nariño, Arismendi, and others, who were distinguished in the battles of New Granada and Venezuela ; or of Sucre and Santa Cruz, whose fame was acquired at a later period, in the liberation of Quito and Peru. His merit was of the peculiar kind, which we have explained ; and in that department of military excellence he was probably unsurpassed. On the organization of the republican government, which speedily followed the victory of Carabobo, Paez, in approbation of his public career, was elected a member of the senate for the department of Venezuela, and appointed commandant general of the same department. It was while he held these offices, that he became implicated in the late insurrectionary movements.

It may be safely inferred, from our statement of the origin and early life of Paez, that he was little indebted to the refinements of education for his political elevation. He is now about forty years of age ; and it is said that, in the comparatively tranquil years since the expulsion of the royalists from Venezuela, he has made rapid progress in those elements of knowledge in which he was most deficient. Many anecdotes are related of his extraordinary personal strength and dexterity, with others of a less creditable nature, concerning the recreations of his idler hours. A signal instance of individual prowess occurred during the war, in a reconnoitering excursion on the banks of the Orinoco. Bolivar descrying four of the enemy's gunboats about half a mile distant in the stream, expressed a wish that they were in his possession. Hereupon Paez assembled a few of his most tried adherents, and arranging with them his plan of attack, he plunged into the river at their head, each man holding his sword between his teeth, and swimming thus towards the royalists, he succeeded in boarding and capturing their boats. By living on terms of familiarity with the officers and soldiers of the army, sharing in their dangers, privations, and amusements, and constantly exhibiting so high an example of courage, relieved at

the same time by frankness and generosity of temper, he was enabled to exercise unlimited influence over his half civilized followers. From all these circumstances, it is evident that, with many elements of greatness in the character of Paez, some qualities were intermingled capable of proving either beneficial, or the reverse, to the best interests of his country, according to the impulse and direction which they might receive.

Such, as we find him represented by writers entitled to credit, is the prominent personage, whom the recent events in Venezuela have brought so distinctly before the eyes of the world. The publications, named at the head of this article, afford much information, equally authentic and curious, on this interesting subject, and serve to correct the vague and contradictory statements, which the newspapers have from time to time contained. They emanate from the highest source ; for the *Manifesto* is the official act of the Vice President, General Santander ; and the piece upon the *Enlistment of the Militia* is written in the first person, and signed by General Paez himself ; while the two remaining pamphlets comprise their confidential correspondence, wherein each vindicates his own motives and conduct, and impugns those of his adversary. Combining all the sources of intelligence within our reach, we shall endeavor to present a just view of the facts, and of the feelings of the respective parties, connected with an affair, which has deeply agitated Colombia, and abroad has been regarded with anxiety alike by the friends and foes of the new republic.

At the commencement of the year 1826, Colombia was apparently prosperous in her political condition. Her immense territory was freed, in its whole extent, from the Spanish yoke, and not a foreign enemy remained on her soil. She had entered into the closest relations with Great Britain and the United States, as well as with her sister republics in the South. The executive department was ably administered by the Vice President, Francisco de Paula Santander ; he and the President, Bolivar, being both reelected to their offices at that time, notwithstanding their express renunciation of the honor. Among the other members of the cabinet, are gentlemen, whose talents and patriotism have been thoroughly proved by long and faithful services. Mr Gual, Secretary of Foreign Affairs till he went to the Congress of Panamá, and Mr Re-

strepo, Secretary of the Home Department, ought particularly to be mentioned in this connexion, because, from the foundation of the government, they have discharged the duties of these important stations with ability, and apparently with a single eye to the public good. Bolivar himself still remained in Peru with the liberating army, having recently, by means of the surrender of Callao after an obstinate defence, succeeded in completely expelling the Spaniards from that fine country, whose independence Sucre had already established by the decisive victory gained over the Viceroy La Serna, on the plains of Ayacucho. Notwithstanding the seeming tranquillity, however, active causes of discord were at work, to which an unexpected circumstance imparted either accidental efficiency and malignity, or perhaps only a plausible pretext for explosion.

Colombia, it is known, consists of provinces, which, under the colonial administration, were distributed into three extensive governments, designated as the viceroyalty of New Granada, the captaingeneralship of Caracas, and the presidency of Quito. For many years after their separation from Spain, the various large provinces of New Granada and Venezuela entertained the design of constituting independent states. Abortive and ill judged attempts to erect separate governments, made sometimes by single provinces, or parts of provinces, and sometimes by an aggregation of provinces, marked the early stages of the revolution. The states of Venezuela even proceeded so far, as to frame an elaborate constitution of government in 1811, at a Congress, assembled in Caracas, consisting of representatives for Margarita, Merida, Cumaná, Varinas, Barcelona, Truxillo, and Caracas.* But this act, as the event proved, was altogether premature. In the course of the desperate struggle which ensued, the necessity of a more extended union and of closer consolidation was forced upon the notice of the patriots by the rigorous exigencies of war. Hence, at the Congress of *Venezuela alone*, assembled at Angostura in 1819, Bolivar proposed the 'fundamental law' of December 17th, being a species of provisional or indefinite league of union between the inhabitants of the two governments. This law was cheerfully acceded to by New Granada, and at the general Congress of Cúcuta, assembled in consequence of

* This constitution, with the other acts of the same Congress, may be found in Thompson's *Alcedo*, Art. *Venezuela*.

it, the law was solemnly adopted and ratified, as preliminary to the formation of the present constitution. At this Congress the deputies, after discussion of the subject, adopted the central form of government, in preference to the federal, with almost entire unanimity. But it is worthy of note, that the deputies from Venezuela maintained the expediency of a central union of the republic, in opposition to some from New Granada, who expressed a decided partiality for a simple confederacy.* That neither party might be deprived of an opportunity to signify their mature opinions on this point, an article was inserted in the constitution in these words; 'After an experiment of ten or more years shall have discovered all the inconveniences or advantages of the present constitution, the Congress shall convoke a grand convention of Colombia, authorized to examine it, or to reform it in its totality.'

Harmoniously as the foundations of the republic were laid, the government ere long became convinced, that neither Venezuela nor Quito was perfectly satisfied with the operation of the constitution. No doubt they sustained some inconvenience, by reason of the remoteness of the seat of government from the extreme points of the nation, a remoteness increased in its effect by the imperfection of the means of internal communication. But the real source of dissatisfaction, as we apprehend, lay in the feelings of the citizens of Caracas and Quito, each of which places had formerly enjoyed the privileges and rank of a metropolis, but was now reduced to the comparative insignificance of a mere provincial capital. Perceiving this state of things, General Santander, who, as Vice President, while Bolivar was pursuing his career of victory and military glory on the shores of the Pacific, had the arduous task to perform of accomplishing the political organization of the republic, did not rest satisfied with merely measuring out exact justice to the inhabitants of Venezuela. Wherever a fair occasion offered itself, the executive sedulously favored them, so far as could be done consistently with established laws, and with the rights of the rest of the nation. Upon Paez, the favorite general of Venezuela, the government at Bogotá bestowed numerous marks of particular confidence and predilection; so that his recent conduct exposes him to the charge of ingratitude towards the executive, besides that of violating the

* *Manifiesto*, p. 6. *Carta Confidencial*, p. 5.

constitution. In discharging the public debts created by the war, the claims of the creditors of the nation in Venezuela obtained the earliest attention. Venezuela is one of the three departments which alone received their contingent of a million of dollars, appropriated by the legislature to be expended, according to the discretion of the executive, in the encouragement of agriculture. Venezuela, having under arms a considerable force by sea and land, has consumed more of the English loan than any other department. Although Venezuela possesses the means of producing a fixed and abundant revenue, yet nothing has been drawn from its treasury for the use of the other provinces. Venezuela, on the contrary, has received more assistance than any of its sister departments, from the pecuniary resources of Cundinamarca. All this should be as it is, perhaps, because Venezuela, being, by its geographical position, the vanguard of the republic in respect of her European assailants, must necessarily be required to maintain a more commanding military attitude than Cundinamarca. But it shows conclusively how anxious the government has been to discharge its duty, and its whole duty, towards the Venezuelans, not unmindful that in this quarter, if anywhere, a susceptibility of discontent might reasonably be apprehended.

The government also labored particularly to retain the good will of the military forces of the republic stationed in Venezuela, by devoting unwearied care to their smallest interests, readily favoring the applications of their officers, and omitting to note their lighter delinquencies with too severe an eye. Furthermore, in anticipation of the surrender of Puerto Cabello, the executive authorized general Paez, the commander in chief, to dispense such military honors among his fellow soldiers, on the happening of that event, as he should deem a meet reward for their courage and conduct in the final operations of the war on the Atlantic frontier. And to recompense the services of Paez himself, and the other Venezuelan generals, liberal grants were made of the national domains, with every possible accommodation in their selection and exchange.

Independently of the particular administration of the constitutional government it would be absurd to deny or dispute, not only the benefit which New Granada derived from the union, but the still more extensive advantages which it conferred on Venezuela and Quito. The latter is indebted for its independence to the battle of Pichincha, gained by the liberating army

despatched from Colombia to the succor of its desponding patriots. As to Venezuela, she, being the actual seat of the war during its concluding years, sensibly felt, in the constant supplies which she drew from the richer and more populous provinces of the interior, all the blessings of confederation. Were she disposed for a moment to forget this, she would be ungrateful to the memory of thousands of brave men from the provinces of Bogotá, Tunja, Socoro, and Pamplona, who perished in the bloody conflicts of the Apure, and false to the fame of the soldiers of Antioquia, Mariquita, and Neiva, who combated in the victorious battalions of Carabobo. In short, but for the union of the two provinces under the common name and with the joint resources of Colombia, far from attaining their present rank in the great family of powerful nations, they would, in all probability, have continued to undergo that alternate succession of splendid victories and deplorable defeats, which characterized the earlier stages of the revolution, with their implacable enemy still pursuing his ravages in the heart of Venezuela.

Notwithstanding all these circumstances, which show the peculiar obligation of Venezuela to preserve her fidelity to the constitution and to the constitutional government inviolate, a disaffected party existed there, whose operations inspired the executive with well founded alarm, and with presentiments of discord, but too fully realized in the sequel. They converted the press, which ought to have been employed in disseminating sound national principles of fraternity, order, and stability, into a blind instrument of attack on the fundamental institutions of the land. They criticised the laws with factious acrimony, they assailed the representatives of the nation with all the bitterness of hatred, and grossly exaggerated the necessary effects of their newness in the duties of legislation; they calumniated the executive, both personally and in the abstract, with a keenness of invective, which none but the hostile invaders of the country, or Spanish emissaries could deserve. Affecting to disavow the improved political geography of Colombia, they cast undeserved and impolitic reproaches upon their compatriots in what was formerly New Granada, on account of its being the provisional seat of the government.*

In the view of these indications of uneasiness, the executive,

* *Manifiesto*, p. 11.

feeling justly anxious for the tranquillity of the republic, called the attention of the Congress to the growing evil, and despatched communications to the generals commanding in Venezuela, Sulia, and Maturin, urging them to be vigilant in guarding the public welfare, and pointing out to them the sources of mischief. Their replies contained assurances of the most satisfactory nature. Paez, in particular, engaged 'to take care that the garrison of Caracas should be composed of privates and officers entirely trustworthy, and decidedly interested for the constitutional order, and for that unity, in which consists essentially the power and felicity of a government established at the cost of so many sacrifices.' Subsequently, the administration neglected no expedient, which could be devised, for impressing on both citizen and soldier the incalculable benefits of liberty, concord, and a central government. And to silence every imputation against his individual patriotism, the Vice President, when his first term of service expired, declared his anxious wish to be permitted to withdraw into the retirement of private life. But no precautions, however judiciously conceived, could prevail to avert the impending storm, which broke out on occasion of the following incidents.

In compliance with the requisition of a resolve passed by the first Congress in 1821,* the executive issued a decree, dated August 31st, 1824, providing for a general enlistment in the militia of all citizens between the ages of sixteen and of fifty years, with certain exceptions. Officers were designated, by whose agency, subject to the direction of the generals commanding in each department, the enlistment should be effected. It is not our business to inquire into the general wisdom of this decree, or of its particular details, of which, without a minute knowledge of the local peculiarities of the country where it was to take effect, we should be very incompetent judges. Suffice it to say that we perceive nothing in it, likely to prove a greater hardship to the people, than the provisions of our own militia system; and this, much as our peaceful citizens complain of it, we apprehend none of them consider so intolerable a grievance, that they would plunge into the horrors of civil war to escape from it. Indeed, a conclusive answer to any allegation against the practicability or constitutionality of the decree, is found in the fact, that eleven of the departments

* *Cuerpo de Leyes de Colombia*, p. 80.

received it and carried it into execution without betraying the slightest symptom of repugnance. In Venezuela alone it encountered opposition of the most determined character, being severely ridiculed and denounced by some of the journals printed at Caracas, which, in language hardly distinguishable from absolute sedition, exhorted the people to disobey it, as a matter of duty. Alarmed by these tokens of violent feeling, General Paez organized only a few companies, and immediately apprized his government of the causes, which had prevented a complete execution of the decree. There not appearing to the Vice President to be any adequate reason for retracing his steps, he merely despatched an order to Paez, recommending great circumspection in the discharge of his duty, and the careful avoidance of the least occasion for disturbance or confusion, which might exact the interposition of military force. And here the matter rested for a full year, the government at Bogotá receiving no intelligence whatever on the subject, until January, 1826, when Escalona, the intendant of Venezuela, and the municipality of Caracas, simultaneously complained of the proceedings of general Paez.

They represented, the former in a communication to the executive, the latter in a memorial to the house of representatives, that Paez ordered the inhabitants of Caracas to appear at the convent of San Francisco, on the morning of January sixth, for the purpose of general enlistment in the regular militia. The appointed time being elapsed, and the citizens not having generally assembled, Paez commanded, as he himself admits, that a party of soldiers belonging to the battalions of Apure and Anzuategui should patrol the streets, and compel the citizens to repair to the parade for enrolment, and meanwhile despatched an aid to the intendant, Escalona, to apprise him of the circumstance. Apprehensive of the consequences of so rash an act, Escalona hastened to entreat Paez to recall his patrols, which was immediately done by sound of bugle, and took upon himself the responsibility of finishing the enlistment. Accordingly the inhabitants, being again summoned to appear on the ninth, did not wait for the compulsory process of the military, but peaceably submitted to be enrolled in conformity with the law. It does not appear that, in the proceedings of the sixth, violence was offered to a single individual, or that private houses were entered by the soldiery, or that any citizen sustained the slightest injury. Paez expressly avers the con-

trary, and, as we think, satisfactorily refutes the extravagant exaggerations of his accusers, particularly of the municipality of Caracas, who impute to him feelings and intentions equally incredible in themselves, and unsupported by evidence. In short, the citizens were, without question, not a little terrified by a measure, which savored pretty strongly of martial law; and while the influence of their terror was fresh in their minds, they and the intendant made representations of the affair highly colored by their abhorrence of what they conceived to be a violent exercise of arbitrary power.

When the petition of the municipality of Caracas reached Bogotá, it excited among the representatives in congress a transport of zeal for the liberties of the people. They determined at once, unadvisedly we think, to accuse General Paez for official misconduct, at the bar of the senate as a high court of impeachment. We say *unadvisedly*, because it does not appear that they heard any evidence previous to exhibiting the articles of impeachment.* The memorials of Escalona and of the city of Caracas were the statements of an accusing party. They did not constitute evidence, upon which the grand inquest of the nation should have instituted a solemn impeachment, on so grave a charge, and against an officer so high in station and character.

Besides, in justice to Paez, we ought to declare that, *thus far*, if his conduct will not admit of perfect justification, there is room for much extenuation. We perceive nothing, in the publications on the subject, which may impel us to believe that he was actuated, in the affair of the enlistment, by any criminal motives, or any inducements whatever, other than a

* See Ejecucion del Decreto para Alistamiento, p. 15.

For the better understanding of the subject, we subjoin a brief abstract of the constitutional provisions respecting it.

Art. 89 and 90. The House may impeach before the Senate the President and other persons in the employment of the state for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Art. 97, 98, and 99 make the Senate a court for the trial of impeachments, either by itself or by commission.

Art. 100. 'Whenever an accusation proposed before the Senate is admitted by it, the accused becomes *de facto* suspended from his office, which shall be filled *ad interim* by the proper authority.'

Art. 101. Two thirds are necessary to convict.

Art. 102 limits the punishment to removal from office, and incapacity for holding other offices of honor, profit, or confidence.

desire to effect the execution of a decree which he was charged to enforce. Various reasons are assigned for his omitting to complete the enlistment for a year, and then suddenly resuming it; none of them, however, seem perfectly satisfactory. But whether that omission was culpable, or justifiable by the discretion vested in him, is immaterial to the present question, because it did not form the point of his accusation. That rested on his employment of the military to compel the attendance of the citizens. Now we can easily account for the feelings, which hurried Paez into this fatal indiscretion. Twice before the morning of the sixth, did he ineffectually summon the citizens to appear. Obeying the exhortations of factious partisans, instead of the voice of the law, the inhabitants of Caracas wilfully neglected the enrolment now, as they had done the year before. Incensed at this open contempt of his mandate, and of his general authority as military chief, Paez ordered out patrols to exact that respect for the government, which ought to have been spontaneously rendered. However contrary to the principles of civil liberty the order issued by Paez may have been in the abstract, practically it was unattended with any of those aggravating circumstances, which his accusers alleged. Intimations, we know, are not wanting, that Paez lent himself to the anticonstitutional faction in Venezuela, from the beginning; nay, that he acted in flagitious concert with one greater than himself, for the purpose of unitedly subverting the liberties of their common country; and that the whole affair of the enlistment, from its beginning down to its final catastrophe, was but an elaborate plan to rouse the spirit of insurrection. These imputations were an after thought; they stand without proof; and they are hardly credible. Time may unfold hidden things, but it is our duty at present to judge from what is before the world. Had the impeachment proceeded to a regular issue, we think the Senate could not, upon such knowledge of the facts as we can procure, have found Paez deserving of exemplary punishment, especially considering the exalted merit of his past services and sacrifices in the cause of patriotism.

But, unfortunately for the reputation of General Paez, unfortunately for the welfare and honor of Colombia, he was afterwards betrayed, through the ardor of his temperament, acted upon by false advisers, into violations of the constitution of his country, totally unjustifiable, and scarcely susceptible of

palliation. When the order announcing his impeachment, reached Paez, with notice of his consequent suspension from his command, and the temporary transfer of it to General Escalona, he received it with transports of anger. Nevertheless, in letters addressed to persons of distinction at Bogotá, he declared his determination to acquiesce in the course of the laws, and apparently betook himself sincerely to making preparations for his departure to the capital, and his defence before the court of impeachment. Here was, indeed, a noble occasion for crowning the reputation he had achieved in war. To yield implicit obedience to the legislature, to rely with noble confidence on the innocence and rectitude of his conduct, to fly and lay down his laurels at the feet of the constituted authorities of his country, this would have exhibited to the world the clearest proof of his disinterested patriotism, his love of order, his attachment to the constitutional system, which he had sworn to support; demonstrating, beyond the possibility of question, the stability of the republican institutions of Colombia. But he shrunk from the ordeal, suffering his own fair fame to be tarnished with the charge of insurrection, and the bright prospects of his country to be overclouded.

General Paez affirms that the intelligence of his suspension occasioned the most lively apprehensions at Valencia, inasmuch as the Venezuelans relied solely on his personal influence to maintain the tranquillity of the department. The day after his summons arrived, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Valencia was held, at the instigation of Colonel Francisco Carabaño, of the staff, professedly for the purpose of obtaining a loan to supply the garrison with rations. It was universally understood, however, that the main object of the meeting was to demand the restitution of Paez to the command, notwithstanding his impeachment and the consequent order of suspension. The subject being under discussion, the municipality sent for Doctor Miguel Peña, in order to be guided by his advice in this delicate emergency; but nothing being determined definitively, it was resolved to reassemble on the two succeeding days. The next day the governor, Fernando de Peñalver, came in from his *hacienda*, and unofficially signified his disapprobation of the proceedings. Nevertheless on Saturday the twentieth, the people assembled again in still greater numbers; and the governor, accompanied by the municipality and by Doctor Peña in the capacity of assessor, presented himself before the people,

and exhorted them to abandon their intention of reinstating Paez, which he justly characterized as wholly factious and unconstitutional. Probably the public agitators now began to fear that they should fail of accomplishing their ends; for on Sunday three dead bodies, having the appearance of violent death recently inflicted, were dragged into the public square; and this horrid spectacle so terrified the anxious and alarmed inhabitants, that they fell into the snare prepared for them, and loudly demanded a meeting of the municipality. The bleeding corpses before their eyes, pleaded more convincingly than any living eloquence could have done, the expediency of unresisting submission to the power of the sword. Regardless of the remonstrances of the governor, the people filled the air with cries of *Viva Paez*, and rushing to the general's house, they conducted him to the assembly, where he was by acclamation reinvested with the authority of military chief, which he accepted.

Had the matter stopped here, still it would have been evident that these proceedings were the work of seditious persons, who wrought upon the fears of the people to force them into disorderly acts, against their inclination and their better judgment. Beside the military followers of Paez, who appear to have been led by Colonel Carabaño, much is attributed to the machinations of Doctor Peña. This person, whose talents and capacity for intrigue are spoken of as great, has acted a very prominent part in the whole revolution, having been at one period president of the first Congress. At this time he was in disgrace for an alleged fraud on the treasury to a large amount, and undisguisedly professed the most implacable hostility against the government at Bogotá. Public opinion accuses him of being the confidential adviser of Paez in this and the subsequent movements, and of fomenting the resentment of the soldiers at their general's impeachment, in order to cancel his responsibility to the laws by the summary means of a political convulsion.

Whatever secret influence Paez acted under, he stood now in open resistance to the constituted authorities of the nation. He had accepted a command illegally tendered to him, and thereby publicly participated in rebellion. It is in vain for Paez to urge the importunity of the Valencians, alarmed for the safety of their property, their families, and their lives; for this alarm was kindled by his own creatures, and by the veteran

soldiers of Apure, with whom his will was law. His duty, as an upright citizen, required him, instead of tamely yielding to a popular tumult, to exert his boasted influence in repressing it, and to sustain the authority of the constitutional government, or if driven by the force of circumstances to retain his command for the immediate preservation of public tranquillity, he should instantly have made known the circumstances to the government, that they might provide for the contingency. Nothing could have been easier. Santander declares, that, anticipating the possibility of such a state of things, he intended on the slightest intimation from Paez that any uneasiness was likely to occur in the department from his suspension, to assume the authority of continuing him in the actual command of the army, only nominally conferring it on General Bermudez, or General Mariño. But no,—with singular inconsistency, Paez felt bound to observe religiously the extravagant resolutions of a municipality, while he proceeded in direct contempt of the lawful decrees of the senate, communicated through the executive power of the republic. It is equally vain for Paez to pretend that his resumption of authority was necessary for the salvation of Venezuela; for he himself makes assurance that the first movement was exclusively confined to Valencia, while in Caracas they were ignorant of its object. Nay, the house of representatives had accused him only at the instance of the municipality of Caracas. Indeed, it is futile beyond endurance to insist upon the *necessity* of his remaining in command to *preserve* the public peace, when this very fact was the most flagrant of all violations of it, as being a bold defiance of the national government; an act of absolute rebellion; a declaration of civil war, suited to produce all the horrors of bloodshed and anarchy.

Not designing to give a circumstantial narrative of the subsequent incidents, we have ventured to explain thus minutely the earliest acts of the attempted revolution, of which all that followed was but the consequence and the developement. A brief sketch of what ensued will suffice for our present purpose. To reinstate General Paez in authority, contrary to an express provision of the constitution, and to persist in maintaining him in it, without some ulterior object, either real or pretended, would have been too palpable an evasion of justice to bear examination. He and Doctor Peña well knew that, if they rested the cause here, they would everywhere be reproached

with originating and fomenting an insurrection for the sole purpose of screening themselves from trial or punishment for alleged crimes. A plausible pretext was at hand. They had but to cry out against the abuses of the central government, and identify themselves with the anticonstitutional party in Venezuela. Accordingly the political agitators of Valencia declared their aim to be the promotion of reforms in the constitution, which might give to Venezuela greater importance in the union. To attain this object, they proposed to call a convention with all due despatch, without waiting the period of ten years prescribed in the constitution. They professedly invested Paez with the provisional supreme authority, solely for the execution of this design, General Santiago Mariño, an officer distinguished in the revolution, and a senator from the department of Orinoco, being made his second in command.

When these events were known at Caracas, the municipality precipitately confirmed the act of Valencia; either because they gladly seized upon the opportunity to change the constitution, or more probably, because they feared that Mariño, who was marching to the city, might be commissioned to punish them severely for their accusation of Paez. Other municipalities in Venezuela soon followed the example, not in obedience to their own reason, but from a dread of the insurgent soldiery. An assembly of delegates from various municipalities of Venezuela and Apure afterwards met in Valencia, ratified the acts of the separate *cabildos*, declared Paez innocent of the crime for which he was impeached, and proposed a grand convention of Colombia for the reform of the constitution. Paez, meanwhile, made arrangements for withstanding any attack from the government, uniformly declaring, however, that he should act wholly on the defensive, and appealing to Bolivar as the great mediator and umpire, to accommodate all the public differences. Occasionally, during the summer, he manifested some doubts of the issue of this appeal; but in most of his public acts, he assumed a bold tone, and hesitated not to accuse the Congress of having wantonly precipitated a revolution by admitting of his impeachment. He removed the regular officers commanding at Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, appointing partisans of his own in their stead, and raised new troops, thus in fact holding military occupation of Venezuela.

When information of these extraordinary events reached

General Bermudez, who commanded in the department of Orinoco, he issued a proclamation, denouncing the movements of Paez, and signifying his determination to support the laws in his department. The disturbance was, for a time, confined to Venezuela and Apure; and the central government felt warranted to hold strong language respecting the insurgent chief and his party. General Santander began by addressing a confidential letter to Paez, eloquently urging upon him the enormity of his conduct, with the hope that a revolution might be averted by gentler means than the military force of the republic. This proving ineffectual, he issued the *Manifiesto*, presented to the Colombian republic and to the world, containing a masterly vindication of the course of the executive, and placing the factious party in Venezuela completely in the wrong. But deterred, either by the deficiency of disposable means or some other cause which does not appear, from commencing offensive operations for the reduction of Paez, the executive seemed disposed, like the Venezuelans, to wait and refer the subject to the arbitrement of Bolivar, whose return from Peru was now earnestly demanded and anxiously expected.

Nothing occurred in Venezuela to vary essentially the state of things until August. The insurgent party continued to express great confidence in the righteousness of their cause, but without being perfectly united among themselves, at least in regard to their ultimate object. With some, the subdivision of Colombia into three independent governments, answerable to the ancient political geography, was a favorite scheme; while the more sensible and moderate among them preferred a federal union corresponding to that of the United States. On the eighth of August the populace of Puerto Cabello compelled the municipality to proclaim the immediate adoption of the federative system, without waiting for the call of a convention, or for the arrival of Bolivar. Such a measure would have been nothing short of absolute separation from, and dissolution of, the existing Colombian union; and was therefore justly stigmatized as such by the municipality of Caracas, who resolved to adhere to their first ground, expressing their anxiety for federation, if it could be peaceably obtained and extended to the whole republic of Colombia, but not otherwise. They had pledged provisional obedience to Paez, but deprecated a dissolution of the republic.

Ere long, these meetings were followed by others in Cumaná,

Barcelona, Maracaybo, Carthagená, and the island of Margarita, declaring in favor of Paez and of federation. About the same time, however, the battalion of Apure, commanded by Colonel Marceno, deserted Paez, and marched from Caracas to join General Bermúdez, who prepared to invest Cumaná, and assert his authority there by force of arms. But to compensate for this reverse, the departments of Asuay, Equador, Istmo, and Magdalena, proceeded to join the reformers. But these places were far from according in their views. Some of them, as Guayaquil, not only demanded a convention, but even went so far as to confer on Bolívar the powers of dictator, soliciting him to take sole charge of Colombia. In consequence of these revolutionary movements at the two extremities of the republic, on the shores of the Pacific and of the Atlantic, a meeting was held at Caracas in November, founded on the idea that the nation was resolved into its constituent elements, and recommending a convention to organize a new system of government for ancient Venezuela. They persisted, however in declaring their willingness to abide by the decision of Bolívar.

In the course of November and December various other vicissitudes in the state of things occurred, some of which portended a more bloody consummation of the affair than the factious party themselves desired. A slight conflict took place at Truxillo, between the garrison and a party of the soldiers of Paez, which was the first hostile encounter. Marceno still held out against Paez in the neighborhood of Caracas, each seeming averse to commence hostilities. In another quarter, General Bermúdez attacked Cumaná with a small body of troops, and was repulsed by the revolutionists there under the command of Colonel Ruiz. Puerto Cabello, on the other hand, revolted against Cala, the governor appointed by Paez, and prevailed on General Pedro Briceño Méndez, who accidentally arrived there the next day, to remain and keep possession of the place until the coming of Bolívar. Such was the distracted condition of the country at this period, that all, with equal anxiety, implored the presence of the Liberator to prevent the further effusion of blood, and heal the wounds of Colombia.

This exalted individual, whose name and influence were everywhere invoked as alone capable of preserving his country from the worst extremities of civil war, left Lima at the begin-

ning of September, immediately restoring constitutional order as he passed through the towns of Guayaquil, Equador, and Asuay. He reached Bogotá on the fourteenth of November, and entered upon the exercise of the extraordinary powers with which he was invested, in order to concentrate all the energies of the republic.* To reestablish the financial credit of the state by directly reducing the expenditures, and by introducing sundry changes in the civil and military administration of the government with that end in view, was the first act of his discretionary authority. Remaining but a few days at Bogotá, he hastened to the immediate scene of convulsion, followed by a numerous suite, but with nothing deserving the name of a military force. He issued decrees in all the principal towns, enjoining a cessation of hostilities and obedience to the constituted authorities, and was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of enthusiastic welcome.

In fact, it was evident that the people universally sighed for the restoration of tranquillity, and, if they had ever sincerely favored the attempted revolution, rejoiced to see its advancement arrested. Whatever inconveniences they had suffered under the constitutional government, they were nothing compared with the evils of anarchy and military usurpation; and a lively sense of this truth animated every bosom. Hence, on Bolivar's arrival at Maracaybo, Puerto Cabello, Valencia, and Caracas, successively, every vestige of insurrection disappeared before him. He reached Valencia at the end of the year, and early in January fixed his head quarters at Caracas. Assuming the immediate government of the departments of Maturin, Venezuela, Orinoco, and Sulia, he proclaimed an amnesty for all things done or said with reference to reform, guarantying to protect the persons, property, and offices of individuals, notwithstanding their having been engaged in that

*The provision of the constitution relating to this point is, Tit. v. sect. 2, art. 128, in the following words; '*En los casos de conmocion interior á mano armada que amenace la seguridad de la Republica, y en los de una invasion exterior y repentina, püede con previo acuerdo y consentimiento del Congreso, dictar todas aquellas medidas estraordinarias que sean indispensables y que no esten comprendidas en la esfera natural de sus atribuciones.* Si el Congreso no estuviese reunido, tendrá la misma facultad por si solo; pero le convocará sin la menor demora, para proceder conforme á sus acuerdos. Esta estraordinaria autorizacion será limitada únicamente á los lugares y tiempo indispensablemente necesarios.'

cause, and pledging himself to convoke a great national convention, in order to determine the fate of the republic. And to put a finishing hand to the work of pacification, he recognised Paez as superior chief of Venezuela, and Mariño as commandant general of Maturin. With these events, all the signs of approaching civil war, and of violent political convulsion, terminated. To say that with them, likewise, the march of revolution ceased, would be premature; because many of the circumstances, perhaps the secret springs of the movement, are unknown to us; and its future consequences on the fortunes of Colombia it is yet impossible to predict.

Of the present intentions of Bolivar, of his principles and character as further unfolded by recent political events in Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia, our limits do not permit us to speak in this place; nor if they did, should we desire to enter incidentally upon an argument of so much compass and importance. It cannot be denied, however, that recent indications have augured unfavorably of the motives and designs of Bolivar, and it is well known, that many patriots in Colombia and Peru regard his movements with serious apprehensions. It is true, that the constitution which he made for Bolivia, and which it is fully understood he desires to introduce into Peru and Colombia, however judiciously it may be devised in some points, is in its main features antirepublican, if not absurd and impolitic. But all this may be said, without necessarily impugning Bolivar's motives as a patriot. He may be true to his country, and yet be the author of a very defective constitution. Such we would fain hope the result will prove. At its present stage the subject ought not to be approached but with circumspection, and ample consideration of all the circumstances, which bear upon it.

Many persons among us appear to forget, or never to have regarded, the peculiar character, condition, and language of the people of South America. Accustomed to the regulated movement of our own political establishments, they fail to remember that our revolution was prepared by more than a century of self government, under the most propitious circumstances, whilst the revolution of the South was precipitated by causes out of the control of the colonists, namely, the prostration of Spain at the foot of Napoleon. Our English extraction, our climate, our habits, the similarity of complexion in our free population, the diffusion of knowledge among us,

and our perfect familiarity with the routine of government, are striking circumstances, wherein our good fortune is deeply contrasted with the want of it in Spanish America. When great men have arisen among us, men of commanding intellect, formed to act the part of leaders in the land, they have found the pursuit of virtue and patriotism here, not only coincident with their interest, but consonant to the whole spirit of our institutions. Everything has impelled them to purity of conduct. Hence, to have betrayed his country in the hour of her trial, has consigned the name of Benedict Arnold almost to a solitary immortality of infamy. Nay, at a later day, for an individual loftier in station and not less gifted by nature than Arnold, to have *meditated* a treason, has made his place on the roll of his country's highest magistrates to be, like Marino Faliero's among the portraits of the Venetian doges, a blank for ever.

Not so in Spanish America, where treason has done its worst work, and where the virtuous and highminded patriot has obstacles without number to struggle against in the path of honorable ambition. A motley population, uneducated, uninitiated into the mysteries of government, suddenly emerging from the tutelage and tyranny of colonial administration, was plunged at once into the frantic contests of revolutionary warfare. That scenes of anarchy and confusion ensued, which persons of desperate fortunes and depraved principles looked to as an opportunity for individual aggrandizement, is no more than we should naturally anticipate. But Providence raises up extraordinary men for extraordinary occasions. Bolivar came forward to control the troubled elements in the South, as Washington had ruled them in the North. And if it be premature now, when Bolivar is in the midst of his career, to unite their fame in the same tribute of grateful veneration, it is equally premature to condemn his cause untried, and hastily to abandon a reputation justly favored by every friend of freedom. Domestic factions, we fear, make their voice to be heard on this point beyond the limits of South America.

Strange as it is, too, we frequently observe faults in taste, nay, dishonest motives, imputed to Bolivar, solely in consequence of the peculiar nature of his vernacular tongue. The chief characteristic of the Spanish language is a spirit of dignity and grandeur, which they, who understand the history of the nation, know how to ascribe to its proper causes. It delights in hy-

perbole. It deals in picturesque, imaginative expressions. Its inherent vice, therefore, is a tendency to exaggeration. The kindred languages of the Peninsula, unlike those of the rest of Western Europe, are impressed with an air of Arabian pomp, and an Asiatic magnificence of idiom pervades their whole structure. Hence, when we peruse the proclamations and addresses of their public men in poor translations, bald without truth and literal without exactness, we do extreme injustice to their authors by recurring for an object of comparison, to the majestic simplicity of our best models of style in similar compositions. And, owing to the neglect of this caution, much unmerited obloquy has been cast upon the reputation of Bolivar. We, moreover, who enjoy the comparatively phlegmatic temperament congenial to the colder zones, should consider the excited feelings of the ardent inhabitants of the South, where

‘Souls made of fire and children of the sun’

will naturally communicate the stamp of their glowing sentiments to the impassioned language they speak.

ART. VI.—1. *The Principles of Political Economy, with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH. Edinburgh. 1825.

2. *An Essay on the Circumstances which determine the Rate of Wages and the Condition of the Laboring Class.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH. Edinburgh. 1826.

MR M'CULLOCH seems to be at present one of the most active laborers in the vineyard of political economy; and if the value of work be estimated by the quantity of it turned out in a given time, he must certainly be considered as belonging to the productive class. Beside the two treatises named above, he has published, within a few years, a formal essay on the rise and progress of his favorite science, and is now, we believe, preparing for the press a Dictionary of Political Economy and a new edition of the ‘Wealth of Nations,’ with extensive commentaries by himself; having in the mean time contributed largely to the weekly and quarterly journals, and delivered a course of public lectures at London. Mr M'Culloch therefore

not only advises people to work, but sets them the example ; and affords a remarkable instance of that ' noble φιλοπονία ' which he yet, somewhat inconsistently, and, as we think, erroneously, denies to be natural to man. It is also but just to him to add, as we shall have occasion to question some of his opinions, that his labors have been crowned in the mother country with a good degree of success. His name is often mentioned with approbation in the most respectable literary journals, and his opinion has been appealed to by the committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland, as a high authority on economical subjects. His writings are also not unknown on this side of the Atlantic. Some of them have been republished at New York, and we believe made the text book of a course of lectures delivered by one of the professors at the college in that city. Such being the estimation in which our author is held by the public, we have thought it our duty, as we have the misfortune to differ from him in some particulars, to submit the views we entertain upon these points to the consideration of our readers, who will decide in their wisdom upon the weight of our objections and the merits of the case.

In doing this, however, we wish to be understood as entertaining a high respect for the talents and labors of Mr M'Culloch, although we are not satisfied with all the theories that appear in his works. He is evidently a person of intelligence, industry, and the best intentions ; and it is a proof of no inconsiderable talent to be able to attract the attention of the British public as much as he has done by dissertations on a subject, in itself rather abstract than popular. But while we render full justice to his real merits, we are bound to add, that we do not recognise in his writings any distinct traces of original thought. As far as we are acquainted with the state of the science, and with his labors for the advancement of it, we can only regard him as an expounder of doctrines previously proposed by others. The basis of his work is the ' *Wealth of Nations*,' which he often quotes verbatim for several pages in succession, and of which he borrows at other times the language and illustrations as well as the principles. He also adopts with little or no modification the theories of Malthus on population and rent, of Say on production, and of Ricardo on profits ; giving, as in the case of Smith, full credit to their respective authors, and employing at times to a considerable extent, their

own words. We do not undertake to say, that he has added absolutely nothing of his own in the way of illustration or explanation of the opinions of his masters ; but the new suggestions, which he offers, are not, as far as we have noticed them, of a kind to affect leading principles, or to alter, in any important point, the state of the science. His work must therefore be viewed, merely as an abridgment or summary of the doctrines now taught in what has sometimes been called the *New School of Political Economy*. He originally prepared it for publication in the Supplement of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' where the substance of it appeared under the title of *Political Economy*. It has since been reprinted separately and in its present enlarged form. The tract on *Wages* is little more than an extract from the principal work of such passages as relate to that subject. The Dictionary, and the new edition of Adam Smith, have not yet reached us. The discourse on the Rise and Progress of the science is a fuller developement of the introductory chapter of the work before us, which may therefore be viewed as a complete exposition of the author's opinions.

The only merit, which can well belong to a compiler, is that of stating clearly and correctly the facts and principles which he undertakes to republish ; and to this Mr McCulloch is, we think, in general fairly entitled. He receives the theories of the respective writers from whom he copies in the manner in which they were understood by them ; and recapitulates them in a correct and perspicuous style. If there be any fault in his manner, it is an occasional slight air of dogmatism, which is perhaps most remarkable in the passages that treat of doubtful points, where it is of course least becoming. But this error, if real, is not unnatural. When a writer has full confidence in the strength of his argument, he permits it to speak for itself ; and it is in general when he feels himself pressed, that he is tempted to eke out his logic by round assertions. There is in various parts of the work what appears to us great looseness of reasoning ; but for this Mr McCulloch is not in general responsible, as he borrows for the most part the arguments and illustrations, as well as the doctrines of his masters. In the few instances in which he draws conclusions himself from the premises stated by them, his method is not, however, in our opinion much more satisfactory. Before we proceed to examine the leading principles of the system, we shall select one or two

passages of this latter class as specimens of the power of thinking that belongs to the author.

It is a fundamental tenet in the doctrines of this new school, that the wages paid to a laborer are naturally the smallest sum which will enable him to support himself, and a family large enough to keep the supply of labor already in the market at the same point. If, as these gentlemen learnedly argue, he were to bring up more children than are necessary for this purpose, the number of laborers would increase, the market would be overstocked with labor, and the price of the article, that is, *wages*, would fall. If, on the contrary, he were to bring up fewer children, the number of laborers would diminish, the market for labor would be understocked, and wages would rise. Hence by a perpetual oscillation between these two extremes, wages are maintained on an average at the point where they are just sufficient to support the laborer and his wife, and to bring into market another laborer and another laborer's wife, to take in due time the places of the former. Such is the theory on this subject. We shall endeavor to show hereafter, that, although sanctioned by the high authority of Adam Smith, it is radically erroneous. But assuming it for the present as true, let us see how far it tallies with other parts of our author's system.

The above explanation of the rate of wages being admitted, the question of course arises, in what manner the laborer and his family are to be supported. They can receive as wages just as much as is necessary for their maintenance, and no more. But it will evidently make a great difference in their expenses, whether they live on turkey stuffed with truffles and Champaign wine, or on rice and molasses; whether like the English peasantry they feed on beef, bread, and beer, or like the Irish on potatoes and buttermilk. In the first case their provisions might cost them ten dollars a day, and in the last perhaps not as many cents. Which, therefore, of these, or any other possible modes of subsistence, is to regulate the rate of the laborer's wages? The answer of Mr M'Culloch is, that the mode in which the laboring classes live, is determined by the custom of the country. If it be the custom, as in England, for them to live on bread, beef, and beer, each individual will naturally conform to it, and his employers will be obliged to give him wages enough to enable him to do so. If, on the contrary, the custom of the country authorize, as in Ireland,

buttermilk and potatoes, each individual will be obliged to follow it, and will not be able to obtain from his employer wages enough to procure anything better.

Admitting this part of the theory to be also correct, it is evidently of great importance, as is justly argued by our author, to encourage the laborer to live as well as possible ; to eat bread and beef rather than potatoes, and to drink beer or wine, or, we may add, cider, rather than water, since it is only by keeping up the custom of living well that wages can be kept up so high as to furnish the means of good living. If the standard of wages falls, it falls never to rise again, and the laborer's comfort falls with it. The general exhortation, therefore, given by these philosophers to the industrious classes is, 'Live as well as you can ; eat, drink, and wear the best you can get ; you cannot possibly receive more wages than will defray your expenses according to the mode of living, to which you are accustomed ; if you accustom yourselves to live well, your wages will enable you to live well ; if you accustom yourselves to live meanly, you will get no more than the amount required for living meanly ; therefore, once more, by all means live well.' 'With all my heart,' would probably be the reply of the honest laborer, who has generally sense enough to prefer a beef steak to a boiled potatoe, if he can get one as cheap as the other. But what follows ? We turn over a few pages, and our liberal philosopher of the new school sings another tune. We come now upon the old story of retrenchment and economy. 'Friendly societies are excellent things ; saving banks are still better ; therefore by all means lay aside a part of your wages, and put it into the saving banks, or the fund of the friendly society, that you may have a little hoard against old age and infirmity.' This again sounds well, and agrees sufficiently with the wisdom of ages, and the dictates of plain common sense. But how does it agree with what goes before, and with the wisdom of the new school ? Wages are always by necessity, according to this theory, just at the point, where they furnish the means of living according to the custom of the country. If the laborer wish to economize a part of his wages, in order to put them into the saving bank, he can only do it by living below the customary standard. This may have its advantages, but how will he contrive to live below the common standard and above it at the same time ? He cannot both have his cake and eat it. If he spend his wages he cannot

put them in the bank ; if he put them in the bank he cannot live well, and will have no wages either to spend or spare. What consistency is there in advising him in the same breath, first to consume his wages, and then to hoard them ? But this latter counsel is not only inconsistent with the theory of these gentlemen, but on their principles cannot possibly be executed. If the laborer economize he must fare worse ; and this advice being general, if the laborers in general conform to it, they all fare worse ; and the standard of living falls. Wages (still reasoning on this system) fall with it ; and the laborer in consequence of his economy now receives only just enough to enable him to defray the expense of his reduced mode of living. How then can he accumulate or make deposits ? If his wages be high, he can by living meanly diminish them, but all his economy can do no more. It cannot possibly put a dollar into his chest, or into that of the saving bank. If he have imprudently reduced himself from bread and beef to potatoes, in order to lay up some provision for his old age, he will obtain no reward for his foresight but the satisfaction of living on potatoes all the rest of his life, without securing the provision he wanted ; for no sooner has he brought himself and his wages down to the potatoe standard, than he loses the power of economizing at all, his earnings being now barely sufficient to support life. Economy, as well as charity, is therefore a word that has no place in this reformed vocabulary of moral science. Its authors, when they advise the laborer to hoard his wages, not only advise him to do precisely what they have just before advised him not to do, but what they have also proved to him to their own satisfaction, that no man in his situation possibly can do. Such advice we consider both inconsistent and unreasonable.

On the system of the new school, the whole class of laborers may be regarded figuratively as clinging to the sides of a rocky precipice, overhanging the bottomless gulf of starvation. Into this their children above a certain number, by the kind laws of an overruling Providence, regularly fall. The rest with their parents sustain themselves painfully upon two or three projecting ledges, of which the upper ones correspond with a bread and beef diet, and the lower with a potatoe one. If a laborer habitually occupy *bread and beef*, and be accidentally pushed off, he alights on potatoes and avoids the gulf. If he habitually occupy *potatoes*, and meet with the same accident,

there is no salvation for him, and he goes to the bottom for ever. Such is the doctrine of these gentlemen, and in consequence of it their first and very natural advice to the laborer to adhere firmly to *bread and beef*. With what appearance of consistency or humanity, then, can they afterwards turn round upon him, and exhort him to descend from *bread and beef* (without which he cannot possibly even attempt to economize), and take a permanent post on *potatoes*? If Mr M'Culloch can furnish us with a satisfactory reply to this query, we shall cheerfully give him credit for more ingenuity than he has exhibited in any passage of his works, with which we are acquainted.

The liberal exhortation to live well and spend all his wages, which is addressed to the laborer by Mr M'Culloch in the first instance, is, as we have said, naturally dictated by his theory on the subject of wages. The system furnishes, however, an additional motive of a different kind for giving this advice; and if we look a little more nearly into the matter, we shall perhaps be able to account for, though not to reconcile, the inconsistency alluded to above. Mr M'Culloch exhorts the laborer to live well, evidently for the purpose of preventing him from marrying, and having carried this point, he then exhorts him to live poorly, and economize, in order to prevent him from becoming a burden upon the community, when disabled by old age or accident. Marriage and the poor laws are, as is well known, the two great bugbears of the new economical school. Our ancestors, simple souls, thought it a vastly fine thing to promote marriage; but like the man in Molière who had reformed the position of the great vital organs, *Nous avons changé tout cela*. Our readers are not so ignorant as to require to be told, that it is considered at present the great object of political economy to bring about a state of things, in which there shall be the fewest possible marriages, and to each marriage the fewest possible children. Since the publication of the work of Mr Malthus, the sages and statesmen of the mother country are continually beset with the apprehension of being eaten out of house and home by a hungry population, which, as they say, is pressing hard everywhere against the limits of the means of subsistence. In vain you tell them that there is no appearance that the earth, or any part of it, is, or ever was, or will be overpeopled; that if we cast a glance over the surface of the globe, from Kamtschatka westerly till we come back again to

the other side of Behring's straits, we find nothing but immense tracts of uncultivated land, with the exception of some half dozen small spots, which are precisely those where provisions are most abundant; that the population of the earth is not greater than it was two or three thousand years ago, and will probably not be greater two or three thousand years hence than it is now. All this gives them no satisfaction, and they still insist, that the earth, and every part of it, always has been, is, and always will be, by a necessary result of the laws of Nature, encumbered with an excess of inhabitants; and that every new marriage, and every birth occasioned by such marriage, has the effect of making bad worse. Under the influence of these terrors, they are constantly exerting their eloquence to discourage people from marrying. To the higher classes they hold out the prospects of easier circumstances, greater consideration, and a more rapid progress in the career of professional or political advancement, which they say, are among the advantages of celibacy. They quote with approbation the opinion of a gallant Scotch general, who in his youth abandoned his mistress to go to the wars and acquire military glory;

'Ambition, I said, would soon cure me of love;'

and they remember to forget to add the recantation in the same song;

'Ah! what had my youth with ambition to do?

Why left I Aminta? why broke I my vow?'

To the laboring classes, who have no pretensions to political advancement or military glory, they offer the solid attractions of a heartier and more substantial diet. When the Hercules of humble life is to make his choice, they paint to him vice and poverty in the form of a young wife and a dish of potatoes, while virtue and success are depicted under the seducing image of celibacy, and a smoking beef steak properly garnished with bread and porter. 'Beware what you do,' they say; 'the moment is critical. If you marry young, you will inevitably have more children than you will be able to maintain, your wages will not support you as you have been accustomed to live, and you will be compelled to drag out a miserable existence on poor potatoe diet; while if you will consent to live single, you may revel all your life on beef and beer.' Thus placed, like the long eared animal, between his two bundles of

hay, our laborer, we will suppose, in a hungry moment decides for celibacy, bids adieu to fair eyes and tempting looks, and fixes his gaze resolutely on the air drawn vision of the steak. But now comes the hardest part of the case. No sooner has the disinterested and liberal monitor carried this point, than the scene shifts at once. He flourishes his pen, more potent than the wand of the famous Dr Snatchaway, sometime court physician of the island of Barataria, and lo! the pretty young wife disappears—the steak goes off in its own smoke—and our prudent laborer, recovering from his day dreams, finds himself clinging as before to the fatal precipice, with a lonely potatoe before him, and the gulf of starvation yawning under his feet. After exercising every species of moral restraint and prudence—after sacrificing his future spouse to a mess of pottage, and then the mess of pottage to the hopes of a provision for old age or accident, he sees himself fixed precisely in the worst position in which he could ever have been placed, without exercising any prudence at all—no provision for old age—no food for life but potatoes—and not even the satisfaction of eating these in company. ‘Poor moralist!’ as we may well address him with the poet,

‘Poor moralist! and what art thou?

A solitary fly!

Thy joys no glittering female meets,

Thou hast no hive of hoarded sweets,

No painted plumage to display;

On hasty wings thy youth is flown,

Thy sun is set—thy spring is gone.’

Now we say, that to reduce a poor man to this situation, under pretence of teaching him how to better his condition, is not dealing fairly with him, and that ‘*Frolic while 't is May,*’ is the only philosophy consistent with the doctrines of the new school. We shall see hereafter that the whole theory is without foundation, and that an honest, industrious, and temperate laborer (bating accidents, which may happen to great as well as small) may always earn enough not only to support his family in a comfortable manner, but to lay aside a hoard against old age. But be that as it may, the strange inconsistency of advising a man to live single in order that he may live well, and then exhorting him to economize out of his wages—which on this theory must necessarily force him to live meanly, without enabling him to lay up anything after all—is sufficiently obvious. Such

reasoning, we repeat, appears to us extremely loose, and we cannot but notice it as a specimen of that defect in the work of Mr M'Culloch.

A strong aversion to the poor laws is, as we have already intimated, another favorite tenet with the writers of this new economical school. A public provision for the disabled members of society has no other effect, they say, than to create the very wretchedness, which it afterwards imperfectly relieves, without in any way diminishing the amount which would otherwise exist. Private charity is less mischievous, because it operates less systematically and extensively, but in principle and as far as it goes it is no better. Therefore steel your heart, and shut your hands. Let the poor laws be repealed without delay, and let it be understood, that the supposed right of the indigent or distressed to relief, either public or private, is wholly inadmissible. Such doctrines, like the antimatrimonial system which we have just been considering, are so completely abhorrent from all common notions and common feelings—from the text and spirit of Scripture—the traditions of the fathers, and the universal consent and practice of all nations and ages, that we hardly know in what manner to treat them.

One is tempted to think, that the writers who support these monstrous paradoxes cannot be really serious, and that they are imposing upon the public a sort of *melancholy humbug*. At all events, their language addressed to a civilized and christian community carries its own refutation with it. When we are told, that we are no longer to perform the duties of charity, public and private, because of this or that discovery in political economy, we may well answer, without examining at all the value of the supposed *new lights*, that our own hearts (to say nothing of Scripture) furnish us with stronger evidence of the reality of these duties, than we can possibly have of the truth of any metaphysical theory. If then the new system be at variance with our strongest natural sentiments, and the conduct they prescribe, it follows not that these sentiments are of injurious tendency, and this conduct immoral, but that the system is false, were it even impossible to detect the least logical flaw in the argument. This, however, is so far from being the case here, that the argument in support of this theory is as singularly flimsy, as the theory itself is unnatural and inhuman.

But waving this point for the present, let us advert for a moment to the manner in which this view of the operation of

the poor laws coincides with the urgent advice given to the laborer to invest a part of his wages in saving banks and friendly societies. If the new school system were true, the laborer, as we have seen, could not possibly follow this advice, and the consequences, if he could, would be directly ruinous to him by reducing his wages in exact proportion to his economy. But supposing the reverse, we could venture to inquire of Mr M'Culloch why the operation of friendly societies and saving banks should be a whit more favorable, than that of the poor laws? Are they not all so many different modes of relieving the distressed out of a common fund provided for the purpose? Are not friendly societies communities instituted for the express object of making public provision for the poor? Is not the general community, of which we are all members, a great friendly society, established for the very same among other ends, and *bound* (notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Mr Malthus, Mr M'Culloch, and the rest of the new lights), *bound* in duty to provide for its poor, as much as to defend the common territory from foreign violence, or to administer justice between man and man? How then, we repeat, can the operation of things substantially the same be essentially different?

It may be said, that admitting the principles to be the same in both cases, they are carried into effect on a very different scale, and that their results may on that account vary considerably. This no doubt is true; but why are we to suppose without proof that all the variation will be in favor of the friendly societies and against the poor laws? The latter, it is said, may be badly digested, or badly executed. What then? Are all the friendly societies and saving banks perfect systems and perfectly administered? Mr M'Culloch himself assures us, on the contrary, that there are great defects, theoretical and practical, in the best of them. Is it probable, in fact, that every little knot of laborers, who may associate for such a purpose, will exercise more wisdom than the government of the country? In general not, it may be answered—but under corrupt political systems, like many of those that now exist in Europe, it may be safer for a few families, who know and can trust each other, to confide wholly in their own foresight, rather than place any dependence on a heartless and purseproud aristocracy. Let us grant all this—which is going as far as the stoutest whig or radical in England (and the philos-

ophers of the new school belong mostly to one or the other of these parties) need to desire. Grant that the poor laws must be badly administered, because the government is corrupt and bad. What follows? Not that we are to supersede the action of the government by establishing a thousand little *imperia in imperio* to do its work, but that the government itself requires to be reformed. Instead of wasting labor, time, and money, in doing yourselves what you have already paid the government to do for you—if the machine be really incapable of going through its functions, set to work manfully and repair it where it needs alteration. When this shall have been done, the poor laws and every other part of the system will of course be properly executed. To attempt to remedy the evil by private associations is in no degree more reasonable, than it would be to provide in the same manner for the security of the highways, or the defence of the country. Remark, too, the singularly heavy burdens, which these private associations impose upon the laboring classes. The latter have already contributed their share to the common fund of the state, out of which they have a *right* (*pace Malthusii*) to be relieved in their distresses. They are now called upon to make a second contribution out of their moderate earnings (which, on the principles of the new school, can never be more than just enough to support them) for the same purpose. Their situation is therefore in this respect the same with that of the English Dissenters and Catholics, who pay tithes to the established Church, and maintain their own clergy besides. When the laborers depend, on the other hand, on the poor laws for relief in their distresses, they are in fact relieved, as they ought to be, by the rich. They pay, it is true, their proportion of the public taxes; but these taxes fall principally upon the wealthier classes, while the poorer, which furnish exclusively the subjects that require aid, contribute almost nothing to the fund that affords it. This is precisely as it should be; while, on the other hand, the plan of taxing the poor exclusively for this purpose, as is done by the friendly societies, is unjust, and that of taxing them doubly, as is done by the union of the two systems, is doubly so.

We make these remarks for the purpose of pointing out the glaring inconsistency between the opinions of Mr M'Culloch on the merits of the two systems. If his theory be true, the poor laws are no doubt mischievous, but on the same principles, friendly societies are equally and doubly so. For our-

selves we have no hostility to these societies, and no objection to see them introduced into the United States, although we believe them to be unnecessary under a good government and a judicious and well administered code of poor laws. According to our view of the general condition of the laboring classes, neither poor laws nor friendly societies tend in any considerable degree, either to encourage population or depress wages. The operation of both we consider favorable, and we believe that they may very properly and usefully come in aid of each other. On the theory of the new school, they both tend directly to reduce the wages and of course the comforts of the laborer, without producing in either case the least countervailing advantage. In order to be consistent, these writers should denounce both alike; and we cannot but notice the different manner in which they treat the two, as another specimen of a singularly loose way of reasoning, even admitting the premises on which they wish to proceed.

The tone of apparent indifference, if not actual self satisfaction, with which these gentlemen announce their supposed discoveries, which, if real, would be fatal to all the hopes and prospects of society, and which shock, at first blush, every sentiment of natural humanity, is truly painful. We believe them to be perfectly sincere; and entertain no doubt that they consider the promulgation of their theories as a service to the public. In decrying matrimony and charity they suppose themselves to be tearing off the mask from a pair of beautiful syrens, who would decoy us to our ruin. We respect their intentions, their characters, and their talents; for it proves talent rather than the want of it to invent and sustain an ingenious paradox, however unsubstantial. We will even go further, and admit, without hesitation, our belief, that if such gentlemen as Mr Malthus, Mr M'Culloch, Mr Brougham, and others, who hold these opinions, and who have shown themselves on many occasions the enlightened and generous benefactors of their country and the world, were called upon to *act* in the interest of the laboring classes, even in regard to these particular subjects, they would prove their hearts to be surer guides respecting them than their heads. With all this, or rather partly in consequence of this, we cannot read without pain such a paragraph as the following, from the pen of Mr Ricardo.

‘The progress of knowledge manifested upon this subject [Wages and the Poor Laws] in the House of Commons since 1796,

has *happily* not been small, as may be seen by contrasting the late report of the committee on the poor laws, and the following sentiments of Mr Pitt in that year.

“Let us,” said he, “make relief in cases where there are a number of children a matter of right and honor, instead of a ground of opprobrium and contempt. This will make a large family a blessing and not a curse; and this will draw a proper line of distinction between those who are able to provide for themselves by their labor, and those who, after having enriched their country with a number of children, have a claim upon its assistance.” *

In plain English, what is the amount of the first of the two preceding paragraphs? The House of Commons have *happily* discovered, since 1796, that the poor, of whom there will be always more or less in every society, must inevitably perish without relief, and that there is no possibility of giving them any real aid, either by public or private charity. Now is this discovery, supposing it to be real, a *happy* one? Is it a thing to thank God upon? Is it not rather, as the poet Campbell says of the imaginary discoveries of the atheist, one which its author should ‘weep to record?’ Would Mr Ricardo have thought it decent to say, that the House of Commons had happily discovered that the horrors of the slave trade were irremediable,—that the late famine in Ireland was beyond the reach of any human palliation,—that the present distress of the British manufacturers is incurable except by death? In these cases, as in the one in question, the discovery (always supposing it real) might have the effect of preventing a waste of labor upon injudicious projects of charity, and might thus far be a positive advantage; but to call it *happy* would be thought something worse than mockery. How much more noble, humane, and instinctively just is the language of Mr Pitt, quoted as above by Mr Ricardo in terms of reprobation! We cannot agree with this illustrious statesman in believing, as he appears to have done, that a family of children would naturally among the poorer classes, bring with it a necessity of recurring to the charity of the public; but we heartily approve the tone of thought and feeling displayed in his remarks. We cannot but repeat, that the continual opposition to the dictates of common sense and humanity, into which the partisans of the new economical school are led by their peculiar doctrines, is, in our

* Ricardo's Political Economy, p. 103, note.

opinion, independently of any other objection, a conclusive refutation of the whole theory.

It is time, however, to leave these preliminary points, and proceed to those which it is our present principal object to consider. We have dwelt longer on the preceding topics than we should otherwise have done, because, while they show the inaccuracy of the reasoning of these writers on their own suppositions, they also serve to throw light upon the leading questions with which they are intimately connected, and which we now propose to examine in the cursory manner which suits the compass of an article like this.

The great problem in Political Economy, as is justly observed by Ricardo in the Introduction to his work, is to discover the manner in which the wealth of a community naturally distributes itself among its members. And supposing the latter, economically viewed, to consist of the three great classes of *landholders*, *capitalists*, and *laborers*, (a distinction, which, however, is rather formal than substantial, but which may be assumed without occasioning error for the present purpose,) the problem takes the more distinct shape of an inquiry into the amount of the shares, that respectively fall to each of these classes, out of the products resulting immediately from the labor of the last. The immense importance of this inquiry is sufficiently obvious; for according to the different answers which may be given to it, the whole science of Political Economy, and with it that of government in general, which is closely connected with the former, assume a different aspect. If the laborers, that is the mass of the people, can never, in any country, or by any possibility, enjoy any considerable portion of the fruits of their industry, but are condemned by the standing laws of nature to work incessantly for the profit of others, and can only reserve for themselves the scantiest pittance that will maintain them, and a part of their children,—if this be in fact the case, why then we say that the laborers, that is, the mass of the people, are always and everywhere necessarily abject and wretched, and that it is idle to look for the cause of their degradation in political abuses or private vice.

Such is the doctrine of the writers of the new school, who have thus denounced against their fellow men a doom more dreadful than the 'eldest primal curse,' inflicted on us through our frail first parents in Paradise. *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread*, were the terms of the latter; *In the*

sweat of thy face shall OTHERS eat bread, is the import of the modern philosophy, which thus cancels the beneficial clause of this great covenant, and leaves the onerous condition in full force. The sweat stands as before on the laborer's brow, but the bread that was to be the fruit of it, is not to be found. *Οἷεται*, as Cicero says of a certain sum of money in one of his pleadings. It is taken from the mouth of the laborer and his children, and thrown to the wealthy or their dogs. No matter how industrious, temperate, and active may be the man himself; no matter how just, mild, and powerful the government that protects him, it is so ordained by the fixed decrees of Providence, that, do what he can, work as hard as he may, he can never receive anything more than a bare subsistence for himself, and a limited number of children; the rest, if he happen to have more, being foredoomed from the beginning to inevitable destruction, and himself and family condemned to share the same fate, if they are touched by the slightest breath of mischance.

Why, then, if all this be true, talk of political reform or improvement? What means the name of *Whig*, which is claimed as an honor by most of these philosophers, if the mass of men, under all forms of government and modes of administration, are equally bondmen, and *Helots* to a few favored taskmasters? What matter is it whether the two classes are called *capitalists* and *laborers*, or tyrants and tyrants' slaves? All substantial melioration of the state of the people is on this supposition impossible (the pretended palliative of *moral restraint* being, as we have seen above, a mere mockery), and a difference of names is not worth contending for. Such in fact appear to be the conclusions of these writers, and the only difficulty is to understand why, with such opinions, they should attach themselves to a political party, whose professed object is the improvement of the constitution, and whose watchword is *liberty*. If, however, we suppose, on the contrary, that the laborer, by the regular operation of the principles that determine the distribution of wealth, receives a fair and equitable portion of his own products, or rather (the terms being properly explained) the *whole*, it will follow, that wherever the mass of the people are debased and wretched, it is owing either to accidental misfortune or their own fault, and that the evil is of a nature to admit of palliation to an indefinite extent, if not of complete remedy. The problem in question is therefore undoubtedly the most important and interesting, not only in political econo-

my, but in the whole extent of the science of government, and is one that must be solved in a satisfactory manner, before we can even enter upon the study of politics with a prospect of advantage. However general may be the prejudice at present (among the few persons who examine these questions in the abstract) in favor of the strange and desolating paradoxes of the new school, we think it not very difficult to show within a short compass, and by arguments drawn from their own writings, the radical error of the system.

The basis of it is the theory of *Wages*, which we have just been considering, and which supposes that the actual laborer can never receive anything more than the smallest pittance which will serve for his support. For a full refutation of this doctrine, we need not look beyond one of the first principles universally admitted by these and all other writers on political economy, as a law of the science. They all agree that no economical enterprise can be carried on, unless it be sufficiently productive to support all the persons engaged in it, replace all the capital invested, and afford in addition the average rate of profit. Any branch of labor, which does not give the returns necessary for this, is overdone, and the capital employed in it is gradually withdrawn and invested in others, until the equilibrium is restored. Such is the doctrine on this subject, which is generally acknowledged, and is also, we may add, incontestably true. Now as the actual laborers are among the persons interested in all economical undertakings, it follows, of course, that they must be supported before a profit can accrue to any body, and it also follows, that they must receive their proportional share of the profit, whatever it may be, that remains, after all expenses and charges are deducted, to be divided among the interested parties. These, we say, are the natural consequences of the principle; and it is therefore a curious question, how the writers of the new school have been able to deduce from the same premises conclusions diametrically opposite. The wonder ceases when we find that they treat the whole class of laborers as an exception from the general laws regulating the distribution of wealth, which they lay down as applicable to society at large. Now it is evidently making a very large allowance to suppose, that a hundred families out of every thousand are landholders or capitalists, the other nine hundred being laborers. But taking this for granted, we have here a general rule, which, when applied to practice, is, by

acknowledgment, false in nine cases for every one in which it is true. If the system be correct, it is evident that the rule must be laid down the other way ; that the distribution of the products of labor must be represented as naturally unequal, and the cases of the landholders and capitalists (who are supposed among themselves to share equally) viewed as exceptions.

But waving this point, which is merely formal, let us examine the grounds upon which these writers establish their supposed exception against the laborers. Unless this point can be rigorously proved, the general rule applies to these as well as to all other persons, and they stand on precisely the same footing with the landholders and the capitalists. The doctrine in regard to this subject, which has since been developed and insisted on by subsequent writers, was stated originally by Adam Smith in his great work on the *Wealth of Nations*. It is one of the few weak points in that noble performance, but, by a singular sort of fatality, it has of late attracted more attention and approbation than almost any other, and has been made the basis of a pretended reform in the science of *Political Economy*. Smith himself does not seem to have viewed the principle as a very important one, and at any rate has not sustained it with his usual care and success. We owe it, however, to his high and well deserved authority to consider in detail the arguments by which he defends his theory. These are contained in his chapter on the wages of labor.*

He begins with stating that the natural wages of labor are its products, that before the land is appropriated and capital accumulated, the whole amount of them belongs to the laborer ; but that afterwards a great deduction takes place, because the landholder and the capitalist come in for a share. These facts are substantially true ; but it does not follow from them by any means, that the laborer is a loser in consequence of the appropriation of the land and the accumulation of capital ; nor is it quite correct in form to represent the laborer as giving up a share of the products of his labor to the landholder and capitalist. The three persons bearing these characters are partners in a common enterprise ; and each receives a share of the products corresponding with the amount of his interest in the joint concern. If the laborer, while he employs the land

* *Wealth of Nations*, b. I. ch. viii.

and capital of others, were to retain himself the whole product of his work, it would be at the expense of the capitalist and landholder, who would in that case suffer a gross and palpable injustice. While the several interested parties divide fairly the profits of the common concern, each may be said with propriety, as was intimated above, to receive the *whole* product of his *own* labor; nor would the expression be improper as respects the landholder and capitalist, since capital and land, economically viewed, are merely the representatives of labor, which forms the source and substance of all the wealth of nations. The condition of the laborer, instead of being made worse, is greatly improved by this state of things, because the productiveness of labor is much increased by the introduction of machinery, and the accumulation of capital. He receives, as before, the whole product of his labor, and this product is greater than it would have been had he worked alone instead of entering into partnership with the landholder and the capitalist. To say that a mere laborer is not so well off as he would be, if he were at once landholder, laborer, and capitalist, is as much as to say, that if one man could cultivate the whole earth, and consume all its fruits, he would be as rich and as happy as the whole present human race put together. On this view of the subject, therefore, to which he nevertheless attaches the principal importance, Dr. Smith is evidently mistaken. His other arguments in proof of the same proposition are as follows.

‘The actual wages of labor,’ he continues, ‘thus reduced by the deduction of rent and the profits on capital, are determined by the contract made between the capitalist and the workmen; *and this contract is naturally always to the disadvantage of the latter.*’

Why? The masters, it seems, enjoy greater facilities for combination, and can hold out longer in the dispute about wages with the laborers than the latter.

‘A landholder, a farmer, a master manufacturer, or a merchant, though they did not employ a single workman, could generally live a year or two upon the stocks which they have already acquired. Many workmen could not subsist a week; few could subsist a month, and scarce one a year, without employment. In the long run the workman may be as necessary to his master as his master is to him, but the necessity is not so immediate.’

If this reasoning were found in any other work than the ‘Wealth of Nations,’ we should take the liberty of calling it

extremely feeble. In the first place, the supposition of facts is evidently erroneous. In a struggle between the capitalist and his workmen, it is clear, that the latter have every advantage. If they can barely contrive to subsist, whether on their previous savings, the bounty of friends and kindred, or chance jobs for the day, the week, or the month, during which the dispute lasts, they then start afresh with their whole capital (that is their personal strength and skill) unimpaired; and pursue their course as prosperously as if nothing had happened. If the capitalist, on the contrary, suspend his operations for a single day, he is, according to the present modes of transacting business, ruined for life. It is he, in reality, who is placed where our new lights would fain station the laborer, on the brink of a precipice; and the gulf of bankruptcy is open for ever under his feet. A ship, we will suppose, arrives from India with a rich cargo which is sold immediately by auction, and produces a large sum of money. Can the owner now come to his laborers, and tell them that he has just received as much money as he wishes to expend upon himself and his family for ten years to come,—that for that length of time he can do without them,—and that if they will not consent to take half their former wages, he will discharge them all at once? We all know the contrary. If he has received a hundred thousand dollars, he has probably notes due for two hundred thousand; for such is about the usual proportion between the real and fictitious property of our capitalists. He must, then, before he has time to think of his workmen, hurry from bank to bank, pay a note here, renew another with large deductions of interest there, and proceed in this way until, by judiciously applying perhaps fifty out of his hundred thousand dollars, he finds himself for the moment tolerably secure. Now at least he can come to his workmen with a bold face, and fifty thousand dollars in his pocket. Not at all. His ability to repeat the same operation ninety days hence depends upon his continuing his usual enterprises upon the same, and if possible, an extended scale. He has still not a moment to lose. After finishing with the banks, he must next repair to the wharf, superintend the equipment of another vessel, ship for India every dollar of his last fifty thousand that he can possibly spare from his personal expenses, and as many more as he can contrive to borrow, in order to receive as soon as may be another cargo; and instead of being at liberty to hold an independent language with his workmen,

it is for his interest to double their wages, rather than lose their services for a single moment.

We mention this state of things not as being absolutely necessary (for we know that it is possible for a man to trade within his real capital), but as what our intelligent readers will recognise as the actual and ordinary one. On this ground only we think the case is pretty well made out against Smith; but the real strength of the argument does not lie here. The average rate of wages, and of profits, does not depend at all upon the advantages that may be gained by either party in the accidental disputes between particular workmen and particular capitalists. The regulating principle, as Smith himself affirms, is that of demand and supply, which fixes the average value of labor, as of every other article. The occasional variations from this standard, that occur in particular contracts, are like the oscillations of a pendulum, which must always settle after a short time in its proper perpendicular direction. The wages of labor are determined for the time being by a comparison of the whole amount of labor in the market with the whole amount of the capital applicable to the purchase of it; and this being the case, it is obvious that competition and combination can have no effect in raising or depressing the average price. This is also the doctrine of Mr M'Culloch. *The rate of wages must depend on the proportion which the whole capital bears to the whole amount of the laboring population.** The second position taken by Smith, in defence of the proposition we are considering, is therefore even less tenable if possible, than the former; and it is really singular, that it should have been satisfactory to his own judgment.

After giving these reasons for his opinion, that the wages of labor are necessarily the smallest sum upon which the laborer can possibly subsist, Dr Smith proceeds to remark, that wages regularly rise when a community is advancing in wealth, and fall when it is declining. This is natural enough; and it would seem to be equally natural, that when a community is in this respect in a stationary state, wages would be stationary also. But this we are told is not the case.

'The hands would naturally multiply beyond the employment. There would be a constant scarcity of employment, and the laborers would be obliged to bid against one another in order to get it.

* Essay on Wages, p. 113.

If in such a country the wages of labor had ever been more than sufficient to maintain the laborer, and to enable him to bring up a family, the competition of the laborers and the interests of the masters would soon reduce them to the lowest rate which is consistent with common humanity.'

Here at least we have the appearance of an argument, although it is not to our minds a convincing one. If it be true, that the laborers naturally multiply in the long run, as Dr Smith has it, beyond the demand for labor, it certainly follows, that the market for this article will be constantly overstocked, and the price of it regularly depressed below its natural level. Such, as Smith asserts, is in fact the case; but he enters into no developement of the proposition, and brings nothing at all in proof of it, excepting a few loose observations on the situation of China. He does not, in truth, appear to attach much importance to the observation, but seems to have considered the strength of his argument on this subject as lying in the remarks we have considered above, respecting the effect of competition, and the deductions made from the gross products of labor by the landholder and the capitalist. The authority of Smith can therefore hardly be alleged with propriety, in favor of the doctrine that population naturally multiplies beyond the supply of employment, which he seems to have thrown out without much reflection as a sort of *obiter dictum*. The remark has since been taken up, illustrated, and as some think demonstrated by subsequent writers; and now forms the basis of the science of Political Economy, as understood and taught in the new school. Our readers will recognise in it the germ of the theory of Malthus on population, which it will therefore be necessary for us to examine, in order to ascertain the real principles that regulate the rate of wages.

The doctrine of Mr M'Culloch resolves itself into the same proposition, which we last quoted from Smith. He begins by stating, as above, that the rate of wages must depend upon the proportion between the whole capital and the whole amount of the laboring population. He then very naturally concludes, that if capital increase in proportion to population, wages will rise, and the reverse; and after making some inquiries into the principles, that determine, respectively, the increase of capital and that of population, he finally lays it down, on the authority of Malthus, as a fundamental law of nature, that population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the increase of capital,

that is, in the last result, of the means of subsistence. Mr M'Culloch is himself so fully satisfied of the truth of this principle, that he adopts it from the work of Malthus without even thinking it necessary to copy the reasoning in support of it. It is therefore needless to consider the particular form, in which the theory appears in his book; and in the few observations that we shall make upon it, we shall view it as presented by its author.

Mr Malthus is in fact the only person who has yet entered into a formal argument in support of this proposition. Before the publication of his work, it had been hinted at by various writers (as for example Dr Smith, in the passage quoted above), but they were generally not aware of its importance (if true) to the welfare of the world, and gave it but a small share of attention. Subsequent writers, who have adopted the theory of Malthus, have also in general, like Mr M'Culloch, depended wholly upon his reasoning in support of it; so that his book still remains the only manual of this new faith. It may appear presumptuous to think of replying in a few pages to an essay which occupies two thick octavos; but in this, as in other cases, the essential points lie within a small compass, and we shall now attempt to indicate them in a brief, but we hope satisfactory manner.

The work of Malthus was originally prepared as an answer to the visionary scheme of absolute perfectibility, which obtained a temporary vogue at the close of the last century. Condorcet, Godwin, and a number of other writers, undertook to maintain that all the evil we suffer is the effect of bad government, and that if the public affairs could once be properly conducted, vice and misery in all their fearful forms, including disease and death among the number, would disappear entirely, and that we should flourish forever in immortal youth, upon the face of the earth, without of course having any occasion to wish or hope for a better state hereafter. This extravagant system, which has lately been revived by Mr Owen, hardly requires a serious answer. If it did, there would be no difficulty in producing a hundred different ones, metaphysical and physical, each stronger than the rest, and all decisive. Among the number of these possible answers is the one, which appears to have formed the groundwork of the theory of Malthus, namely, that if disease and death, or, in his phraseology, vice and misery did not mow down one after another the generations

of men as they successively come up, the earth would pretty soon be overpeopled, and its inhabitants in want of the means of subsistence. This obvious fact furnishes a complete refutation of the system of absolute perfectibility, and although the partisans of that doctrine have made some awkward attempts to evade its force, they have failed entirely, as may well be supposed, of refuting it.

This principle, we say, appears to have been the germ of the theory of Malthus, but as brought out by him it wears a different and far less satisfactory form. After showing that population, if not checked by disease and death, *would* overpeople the earth, and produce a general famine, he goes further, and affirms that population, checked as it is by disease and death, *actually does* overpeople the earth and produce a general famine. These two propositions, which Mr Malthus strangely enough appears throughout his work to confound with each other, and to consider as in a manner identical, are obviously quite distinct, and very nearly contradictory. The former may be regarded as self evident; the latter, supposing it to be true, is at first sight paradoxical and contrary to common sense and feeling. Before it can be granted, it must therefore be rigorously proved. The single argument advanced by Malthus in support of it, when divested of the mathematical garb in which he has chosen to dress it up, is the following. Population has a tendency or capacity to increase very rapidly; the means of subsistence have a tendency or capacity to increase very slowly; therefore population actually outruns the means of subsistence, and by its excess produces everywhere distress and famine.

Now we are bold to say, that for an argument which has obtained a pretty extensive currency among enlightened men, this is as questionable a piece of logic as can well be found in the annals of sophistry. The form of the argument is in fact completely vicious, and if the leading propositions were both proved, the conclusion that is drawn from them would not be a whit the more probable. The premises are, that population has a capacity to increase very rapidly, and the means of subsistence a capacity to increase only very slowly. Now it does not require all the syllogistic science of the Stagyrte to see, that from possible premises nothing can be inferred but a possible conclusion. If it be possible for population to increase more rapidly than food, why then it is of course possible that men may be reduced to a state of famine. If we wish to know

whether they actually are or are not reduced to this state, we must inquire how fast they actually have increased, or are increasing, in proportion to the supply of food, and not how fast they possibly may or might. In the argument of Malthus a *possible* deficiency of food is made to produce an *actual* famine. A community in which the inhabitants do not increase at all, and are even diminishing in number, is supposed to be starved by the possibility of doubling its population, under other circumstances, once in twentyfive years. This is very much as if we should say, that Peter keeps a coach and six, and servants in proportion, upon the proceeds of a prize, that he may possibly draw in the next lottery; or that John entertained a select company of friends at dinner last Tuesday upon some larks, that he may possibly catch when the sky shall fall. Such reasoning reminds one of the middle science of the schoolmen, and would perhaps be better treated in the manner of Martinus Scriblerus than by fair and serious argument.

The only conclusion that really follows from the famous comparison of ratios, which forms the basis of the theory of Malthus, is, as we have observed above, that a deficiency of food is physically possible; a thing well known to all, and of no practical importance. It is true that this writer, whose reasoning is throughout extremely wanting in precision, often shifts his ground, and instead of his first assertion, that population has a physical capacity to increase very rapidly, substitutes the entirely different one, that population actually does increase very rapidly, excepting when it is checked by want of food. This new principle, if true, would doubtless establish his conclusion; but so far is it from being proved, that Mr Malthus has hardly laid it down for the first time, when he again withdraws it or qualifies it in such a way that it leads to nothing. After stating in his first chapter, that 'population *when unchecked*, goes on doubling itself every twentyfive years,' and farther in the same paragraph, that 'population, *could it be supplied with food*, would go on with unexhausted vigor,' he declares five or six pages later, that population does not proceed with unexhausted vigor, but that want of food is never the immediate check to its increase, except in the rare case of actual famine, and that the real immediate checks are diseases or vices resulting from scarcity, and *various other causes, moral and physical, entirely independent of the supply of food*. He thus contradicts his new fundamental proposition at the moment of

stating it; and afterwards proceeds to illustrate, by an infinity of examples drawn from a general survey of the different parts of the globe, the nature of these moral and physical checks to the increase of population, and the manner and extent of their action. Having in this way proved to his own complete satisfaction, and that of the reader, that population is nowhere checked by the want of food, and that it still does not increase in general with any great rapidity, and having thus completely refuted his own leading propositions, he very coolly and quietly without the least attempt to explain the contradiction, returns again to these propositions at the close of his first volume, repeats that population proceeds with unexhausted vigor, when not checked by want of food, and draws his agreeable conclusion of the necessary existence of a permanent and universal famine.

The real source of the erroneous reasoning of this writer, if probed to the bottom, would perhaps be found to lie in a disposition to consider all the moral and physical evils, to which we are subject, as indirect results of scarcity. If this were granted, it would follow, that there are no checks to the increase of population, except the consequences direct and indirect of this cause, and the conclusions of Malthus would in fact be true. This position is, however, quite untenable, and Mr Malthus, who is perfectly honest through the whole of his work, is occasionally led by the course of his reflections to feel that it is so, and in such cases readily admits for the moment, as in the passage above quoted, that there are various moral and physical checks to the increase of population, *wholly independent of the supply of food*. After candidly making these concessions he soon, however, appears to forget them, and returns to a course of argument which supposes the opposite opinion.

But whatever may have been the source of his mistake, it appears that the original premises which are employed in his argument, and which may safely be admitted, lead to nothing; while those which he occasionally substitutes for them, and which if proved, would establish his conclusions, are not only not proved, but are amply refuted by himself. His conclusions are, therefore, wholly groundless, and there is, of course, no reason for supposing, as is done by Mr M'Culloch and the other writers of the new school, upon the authority of his system, that the laboring classes naturally multiply in all countries beyond the means of subsistence. We might, then, with perfect safety,

rest the case here ; but as the principle we are considering is of great moment, the most important, as we have said before, in the whole compass of political science, it may be agreeable to our readers to see it established in a positive as well as in a negative way. Having demonstrated the error of the doctrine, which assumes, in substance, that *the increase of population has a natural tendency to produce a scarcity of the means of subsistence at the time and place of its occurrence*, we shall now proceed to show the truth of the directly opposite principle, namely that *the increase of population has a natural tendency to produce a comparative abundance of the means of subsistence at the time and place of its occurrence*. If this can be made out, it will follow that the theory of the new school is not merely erroneous, but directly the reverse of the truth, and that its partisans have mistaken for a source of evil what is in fact a real and permanent principle of national good.

In order to ascertain with precision the effect of an increase of population upon the supply of the means of subsistence, let us suppose it to take place in a territory with which we are familiar, as for example the District of Columbia. The ten miles square comprehended within this district are capable of producing only a limited quantity of provisions, while the population is capable of increasing to an indefinite extent. Let us suppose for argument's sake, that the territory is already so fully peopled, that all its products are completely forestalled, that the last grain of corn, which can possibly be raised from the last inch of ground by the utmost stretch of agricultural science, is regularly grown, baked, and eaten by the actual population, and that the increase is nevertheless proceeding with the same untiring march as before. A new family presents itself ; what, under these circumstances, will be the conduct of the person charged with procuring the supplies ? Will he feel in his conscience, that he has come to the great banquet of nature without invitation ? that there is no place reserved for him, and that he must necessarily starve ? Will he, out of complaisance to Malthus, abstain from the use of imported grain or flour, and die of inanition, rather than consume a bushel of wheat, that was not grown within the District ? We are bold to say, that, without so much as dreaming of any of the grand discoveries of the new economical school, he would simply put on his hat and walk across the street to the next flour merchant's, to order a barrel of flour, which, as the pro-

ducts of the District are by the supposition forestalled, must of course have been imported. But what in this (on the new system) somewhat critical and alarming emergency is the deportment of the flour merchant? An attempt is here made to induce him to aid and abet an open violation of the standing laws that regulate the distribution of wealth. Will he not see through it, and resist it with a manly firmness? Will he not exact from the applicant for flour a sight of his invitation to the banquet of nature? Upon his failure to produce it, will he not unfold to him the doctrine of the two ratios, convince him of the necessary disproportion between the number of empty stomachs and that of the loaves that are to fill them, and exhort him to starve with resignation and cheerfulness for the honor of political economy, and the greater glory of Mr Malthus?

Such, perhaps, would be the course which we should naturally expect, at least upon the system of the new school; but in point of fact nothing of all this happens. The flour merchant, or his shopman, welcomes our supernumerary with perfect civility, takes his orders, delivers him the barrel of flour, receives his money, books the transaction, wishes him a good morning, and turns away quietly to serve the next customer. But how long could this system be pursued? Would not a frequent repetition of similar applications exhaust at last the worthy merchant's patience or his flour? Suppose, for instance, a new family to present itself under the above mentioned circumstances every day for a year in succession (giving an annual increase of about two thousand inhabitants for the District, which we presume is pretty near the truth), would they all obtain their supplies as readily as the first? Would not the exasperated dealer in grain, worn out and baited in this way with ceaseless demands upon his constantly diminishing stock, at last take the bit between his teeth, and resolutely refuse to part with another barrel for love or money? This might be reasonably expected on the theory of the new school; but here again the reasonable expectations of these gentlemen are completely disappointed. The arrival of each new customer, instead of irritating the flour merchant, seems by some extraordinary accident to sweeten his humor, and give him a finer flow of spirits. He smiles upon each still more graciously than on the preceding one, and as the number increases, his very countenance and person seem to expand with it. He fattens on the flour which he sells to others, more than on what

he ate before himself. His brow, which was hitherto somewhat cloudy and contracted from a lurking doubt, whether he should be able to sustain himself at the stand which he had chosen, grows smooth and glossy; and the little man bustles about among his people with the gaiety of a cricket. Strange as it may seem, his stock of flour, instead of being diminished by this continual drain, increases like the contents of the widow's cruise in Scripture at every deduction. His warehouse itself enlarges; a neat dwellinghouse rises by the side of it, and his little patch of a backyard dilates into a decent garden, with a stable at the bottom. Untaught in political economy, and bewitched with the sparkling eyes of some one of his pretty young neighbors, the man marries. Here again his doom would appear to be sealed; but by the effect of his singular good fortune, and the constant affluence of new customers, he contrives to weather even this last and fatal rock. His family increases; but as his profits increase still faster, he keeps his head above water, and even comes at last to be regarded as a thrifty man. His wife and daughters give balls, and sport their merinos, his son (too probably) a tandem; and the father, if he be not ruined by the extravagance of his children, emerges at last into public notice as a successful merchant and wealthy capitalist, figures as a bank director, and finally closes his useful career by filling successively the responsible offices of Common Council man, Alderman, and Mayor of the city of Washington.

To state the same facts in fewer words, the supply of grain in the District increases in exact proportion to the increased demand, created by an increase of population; and we submit it to our intelligent readers to decide, whether a barrel of flour would ever be wanting there as long as there was a five dollar bill (or whatever the market price may be) to offer for it, although the whole territory were as thickly covered with dwelling houses as the sides of Broadway, or the Ward of Cheap in London. What is true of the District of Columbia is equally so of the ten square miles adjoining it, and so on to the Pacific Ocean. While the process we have described is going on in the District, a similar one, we will suppose, is proceeding at Baltimore, at Philadelphia, at New York, at Boston. What follows? Has the opening of this line of great markets along our coast produced, as it ought to have done on the theory of Malthus, a scarcity of provisions, or of anything else?

Do we hear that any citizen of any of these flourishing capitals has been compelled to request his neighbor, as a great favor, to sell him a barrel of flour at a famine price? The smallest merchant's clerk in Broadway, or State street, would smile at such a fancy, which has yet bewildered the brains of all the European professors of Political Economy. We all know that the increase of population on the seaboard, instead of producing any scarcity, has not only covered that part of the country with abundance, but exercised the most beneficial influence on the welfare of the whole interior. The growth of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, has scattered wealth and plenty through the Genesee country, and made the wilderness beyond the Ohio and Mississippi to blossom like a rose. It dug the CLINTON CANAL.* It will open a road through the Rocky Mountains. It would drain the interminable marshes, that form the interior of New Holland, and convert the last acre of them into a wheat field, before a bushel of grain would be wanted in the United States by any citizen, who had the money to pay for it at a fair market price.

These considerations are completely decisive against the theory of the new school, which supposes that it is the effect of an increased population to produce an actual deficiency in the supply of provisions. They are not, however, quite sufficient for the purpose we have in view, which, as the reader will recollect, is to establish the proposition that an increase of population, instead of creating a scarcity, produces, on the contrary, a comparative abundance of the means of subsistence, at the time and place of its occurrence. We have already shown, that the *supply* of provisions under these circumstances is just as ample as it was before, and that it increases in exact proportion to the increased demand. It only remains to inquire in what manner the *price* of provisions is affected by the same causes. Although there may be no deficiency in the quantity of provisions, if their real value rise in consequence of an

* We have little doubt that the state of New York will sooner or later do Mr Clinton the justice and itself the honor of conferring his name on the magnificent work for which we are all so much indebted to him. No individual, perhaps, ever rendered a greater service of an economical kind to any country, than he has done to ours by effecting this canal, which, considered merely in its political results, as a new bond of union between the different sections of the republic, would place its author in the first rank of public benefactors.

increase of population, the result will be equivalent to a virtual scarcity. If, on the contrary, as we shall endeavor to show, their real value fall, the result produced is a comparative abundance. The extraordinary cheapness of grain in the province of Holland, a country that lives wholly on importation (which is mentioned by Malthus as a *curious fact*), is a pregnant indication of the nature of the conclusion, at which we shall probably arrive. It is our object, however, at present to establish the point in a theoretical way.

The price of provisions, like that of everything else, is determined by the cost of production, or the amount of labor necessary to bring them into market, and varies, of course, with the fertility of the soil upon which the supplies are raised, and the distance from which they are brought. The dearest that are required to furnish the market necessarily regulate the value of the whole. Where the population is scanty, and the state of society rude and unimproved, the price of the provisions consumed by a community depends wholly upon the quality of the soil they occupy. They are unable to profit by the superior fertility of any other, because they have nothing to give in exchange for its products. Although grain were ten times as cheap in Poland, as it is in Norway,* the Norwegians

* Norway is a favorite country with Mr Malthus. He considers the inhabitants as affording an honorable example of the practice of moral restraint, inasmuch as they seldom marry till the age of forty or fifty. Upon visiting the country he was much struck with the comfortable appearance of everything; and remarked particularly, that the farmers' boys had better calves to their legs, than any that he had seen elsewhere. It appears, however, that with all their prudence, the Norwegians do not succeed in supplying themselves regularly with a sufficiency of the ordinary kind of food, being frequently reduced, as Mr Malthus himself informs us, to mix their flour with sawdust. This was their condition when the writer of this article saw them in the year 1809.

Holland, on the contrary, is looked upon by Mr Malthus with an evil eye, the inhabitants being universally addicted to marriage. He says that it has been called the *grave of Germany*. We have had opportunity (in our personal capacity) to visit that country also, and, after residing several years in different parts of it, can say with great truth that the people could not wear a healthier appearance if they inhabited the garden of Eden. We were not led to examine particularly the lower extremities of the farmers' boys, but we have often observed with singular satisfaction the ruddy countenances of the young Dutch girls, who are all as fresh and blooming as the roses and lilies in their own flower gardens of Noordwyck and Haarlem. Mr

would nevertheless be compelled to live upon their own, and even at times to suffer from scarcity, because they have no products which they can offer to the Poles in exchange for theirs. But wherever an increase of population takes place, bringing with it, as it always does, a division of labor and a rapid progress in the arts of life, the price of provisions is regulated by the cost at which they can be raised on the best soil, anywhere under cultivation, with the addition of the charge of transportation to the place of consumption. If Norway should increase in population, and become a manufacturing country, the inhabitants would then have the means of supplying themselves with grain from Poland; and its price in their market would be the lowest at which it could be raised in the latter country, increased by the charge of transportation. Supposing this, on so bulky an article, to amount to one hundred per cent, still if the foreign grain be ten times as cheap as that of domestic growth, the price of the article would fall four hundred per cent, in consequence of the increase of population. A quantity of grain which could be raised in Norway for ten dollars and in Poland for one, the price being doubled by the charge of carriage, would now sell for two. It would therefore still be five times as cheap as the same quantity raised at home.

Malthus affirms that the number of marriages is about twice as great in proportion to the population in Holland as it is in Norway. He adds that the proportional mortality is also about double, and appears to suppose that the greater number of marriages is owing to the greater number of deaths. As the great mortality in all countries takes place among children, and as the number of children increases of course in exact proportion to the number of marriages, it is necessary that the mortality should also increase in the same proportion; and it seems more correct to reverse the order of cause and effect assumed by Malthus, and attribute the greater mortality to the greater number of marriages. If the mortality increase only in the same proportion with the number of marriages, it follows that all other circumstances are equal, and that in the present case the *grave of Germany* is precisely as healthy as the pattern country of Norway. This writer adduces some documents, which appear to prove that the actual number of births in the latter is about one quarter more than that of the deaths; and that there is of course a considerable annual increase. It is, however, highly improbable, that statements which make the number of births to a marriage greater in Norway than in Holland can be correct; because the marriages in the latter country being more frequent, are naturally earlier, and of course more instead of less fruitful. If the mortality and the number of marriages be both twice as great in Holland as in Norway, it is probable that the former country is increasing in population much faster than the latter.

A considerable part of the grain consumed in England is raised in soils that afford only ten or twelve bushels an acre; and this of course determines the price of all the rest. Now there are many soils in our country, that afford by the acre forty, fifty, and sixty bushels. In the latter case there would be an advantage of five hundred per cent to the British public in consuming our grain instead of their own, and deducting from this the charge of transportation at one hundred per cent, there would still be a net profit of four times the value of the article. This profit on the price of provisions would be the result of the increase of population, that has taken place in that country since the first occupation of the land now under tillage. The same considerations explain the cheapness of provisions in Holland, a country where, if raised on the spot, they would cost their weight in gold, and into which they could not be imported were it not for the density of the population, and the high state of improvement at which it has arrived. These circumstances have fixed the price of grain on one of the most sterile parts of the earth, at the lowest rate at which it can be raised in the most productive, increased by a small charge for transportation by water.

In general, therefore, the effect of an increase of population is to reduce the price of provisions wherever the soil is so much inferior in fertility to the best soils anywhere under cultivation, as to admit of the importation of grain from the latter. This reduction might be, as we have seen in the cases of Holland and England, a very considerable one; and as the average quantity of the different soils under cultivation, in different parts of the globe, is of course much inferior to that of the best, it follows that as a general rule, the effect of an increase of population is to reduce the price of provisions at the time and place of its occurrence. This reasoning supposes a perfect freedom of the trade in grain. If a nation chooses to limit its consumption to the quantity of grain, that can be raised on a limited territory abroad or at home; its population will be limited of course to the number of persons, which this territory will nourish; and when it has reached this point, if emigration be also prohibited, provisions will be sold at a famine price. But such artificial restraints have no connexion with the principles, which naturally regulate the distribution of wealth.

The only exception to the rule just stated is that of communities, which occupy soils of the very first quality. Grain

being with them already at a minimum price, cannot, of course, be made cheaper; and if it become necessary, on account of an increase of population, to draw supplies from abroad, the price of foreign grain, although raised also on soils of the first quality, would still be higher than that of domestic, by the amount of the expense of importing it. At this price the supply would be ample. But even in a case of this kind, the whole expense of living would still be less than it was before. The mere article of necessary food forms only a part, though a considerable one, of this expense in civilized communities. Clothing, furniture, and various articles of comfort or luxury, compose another portion not less important. Now the price of this whole class of articles is much diminished by the increase of population, and the consequent advance of manufactures and commerce; so that were the price of necessary food even to rise considerably (as it would in the particular case now supposed) by the effect of these circumstances, an equal quantity of labor would still produce a more abundant supply of the usual wants of life. Hence the effect of an increase of population is in this respect universally favorable. As a general principle, it reduces the price of necessary food, and in the few cases where this does not happen, it still reduces the total expense of living.

These principles are, we trust, sufficiently clear not to stand in need of any further illustration. If they did, it would be easy to corroborate them by one or two considerations of a very familiar, and at the same time very satisfactory kind, to which we shall now briefly allude.

1. If living were not at least as cheap in a thickly peopled territory, as it is elsewhere, it would be impossible for a dense population to exist anywhere as a permanent condition of society. If the necessary expenses of life, as compared with the reward of labor, were greater in the District of Columbia, than they are in the neighboring country, the products of an equal amount of labor would of course be less, and the profit upon it would fall below the ordinary rate. In that case capital, and population with it, would be withdrawn from the District, and invested somewhere else, until the equality was restored. The least tendency to an increasing density of population, if it were accompanied by an increase in the expense of living, would be counteracted by a stronger principle, acting in an opposite direction, and could never in fact be realized. Thus every city

on the globe affords, by the mere fact of its existence, a demonstration that the real cost of living in a dense population is at least as small as it is elsewhere. Mr Malthus denies entirely, that emigration could have any effect of this kind, and in his chapter on the subject enlarges on the dangers and hardships, that attend the settlement of new colonies in distant countries. But such considerations are foreign to the question, because the settlement of new colonies is not the sort of emigration, which would equalize, if necessary, the expenses of living in different places. If grain were dearer in the District of Columbia, than it is in the neighboring country, it would not be necessary for the inhabitants, in order to relieve themselves by emigration, to embark for New Holland or Spitzbergen. They would quietly remove to the next county, and all would be well. As this does not happen, we are certain that the evil does not exist, for which, if it did, so simple a process would afford a perfect remedy.

2. But this argument may be pushed farther, and it may be shown, that the permanent existence of a dense population upon any spot of the earth's surface shows not only, as we have seen, that the means of subsistence are at least as plenty there as elsewhere, but that they must necessarily be much more so. It is known that the annual mortality is much greater, and the chance of life much smaller in proportion to the density of population. In London, for example, the annual proportion of deaths to the whole number of the inhabitants, is as one to twenty, while in England in the average it is only as one to forty. The difference is in most cases not so great, but it is always considerable. It is necessary, therefore, to the permanent existence of a dense population on a given territory, not only that there should be no emigration from it, as there necessarily would be if living were unusually dear, but that there should be a constant *immigration* into it, equivalent to this difference of mortality; and this could not happen unless living were unusually cheap. There must be, for example, an annual immigration into London, equal to the number of native inhabitants of the city that annually reach a mature age, supposing the population of that city to increase only as fast as that of the kingdom in general.

What cause then attracts this never ebbing flood of emigrants towards London, and every other thickly peopled spot on the globe? Do they encounter the inconveniences and ex-

penses of a change of residence, for the mere satisfaction of diminishing their chance of life, without any countervailing advantage? Evidently not. If a thickly peopled territory naturally attracts labor from all quarters, it can only be because the reward of labor is greater than it is elsewhere. It is calculated that the population of Great Britain is about twelve millions, the number of annual births three millions, and of persons annually arriving at maturity one million five hundred thousand. On the same supposition the population of London being about twelve hundred thousand, the number of annual births would be three hundred thousand; but the mortality being double, the number of persons arriving at maturity would be only half as great in proportion, or seventyfive thousand. Hence an *immigration* to this amount of persons of mature age, or a proportionally larger one composed of persons of various ages, would be necessary to maintain the population at its actual height; and as it is known to be increasing much faster than that of any other part of England, the annual immigration may be rated at one hundred thousand persons of mature age, or about one fifteenth part of the whole number of persons annually coming to maturity in the country. This immense and never ceasing influx of new comers from every corner of the island, proves sufficiently the extent of the attractive force existing at the metropolis, which can be no other than the more abundant reward of labor, or, in other words, a more copious supply of the means of subsistence.*

* If we suppose two exactly equal masses of population, and that the reward of labor in one is twice as great as in the other, it will require an emigration of half the latter into the territory of the former to restore the equilibrium. Thus if the two masses be each composed of four thousand persons, and the quantity of grain to be distributed among them, as a reward for an equal amount of labor, be in one four thousand bushels, and in the other two thousand, each person will receive one bushel in the former and half a bushel in the latter; but if half the population, or two thousand persons, emigrate from the latter to the former, there will then be two thousand bushels to be divided among two thousand persons, and each will also receive a bushel. If the mortality be also double in the former, the influx from the other will exactly counterbalance it, and leave the reward of labor the same. If the former be smaller, it will require of course a smaller emigration from the other to establish an equilibrium. If the population of London be one twelfth of that of Great Britain, and the reward of labor twice as great as it is on an average throughout the island, an annual emigration of one twenty fourth part of the laborers

We have thus, satisfactorily we hope, though briefly, attempted to establish the proposition that an increase of population produces a comparative abundance of the means of subsistence, at the time and place of its occurrence. It follows of course, that the class of laborers have no tendency to multiply beyond the demand for labor; since their multiplication, to whatever extent it may go, increases instead of diminishing the demand for labor and its reward. The grounds, on which the writers of the new school endeavor to make the case of the laborer an exception from the general rules, that regulate the distribution of wealth, of course fail entirely, and with them the unnatural and antisocial doctrines, which they have pretended to establish upon this foundation.

The natural rate of wages is not the smallest pittance, that will serve to support life, but is a variable quantity determined by the productiveness of labor for the time being. Its amount is greater or less in different countries, and parts of the same country, according to the state of civilization and industry; and with particular individuals according to their personal habits. Where the state of society is such, that the people are generally industrious and temperate, an individual is able to produce in the course of the year more than he has occasion to consume. The excess of his products over his consumption constitutes his profits, and the average rate of profits is the mean of this excess in the different branches of industry. The profits thus obtained will be variously employed according to the temper and taste of the possessor. The more provident will accumulate a part of them, and the fund formed by such accumulation is what we call *capital*. It is realized in the shape of houses and furniture, machinery of all kinds, and any other objects of convenience or luxury. The exchangeable value of all these articles is determined by the productiveness of labor for the time being, and in making the exchange the capitalist and the laborer enter the market on a footing of perfect equality. In general they are partners, jointly interested in a common enterprise, of which they share the expenses and the profits, and in which each may therefore be said, with propriety, to receive the whole of his own products.

would be sufficient. The loose calculations given in the text make the actual amount equal to one fifteenth, and the conclusion would be that the reward of labor in London is more than twice as great as it is in the country, by the difference between one twentyfourth and one fifteenth.

It is pleasing to observe the effect of these principles in dissipating the frightful phantasmagoria, which the writers of the new school present us as a correct picture of the condition of the laboring classes, that is, the mass of mankind, and restoring every thing at once to its proper place and shape. The gulf of starvation, which was yawning but now under the feet of this large and meritorious portion of society, closes forever without the necessity of a previous propitiatory offering of their children to the Moloch, who alone would have presided over a creation, such as these philosophers would make of the world we inhabit. The steep and rocky precipice, upon which we left them clinging painfully for life, spreads itself out into a fair and open country, the narrow stations that afforded them a difficult and scanty footing expanded into comfortable dwellings, surrounded with trim gardens, fruitful orchards, and snug out-houses, the whole neatly fenced, and in good order. The tenant is not condemned to renounce his natural feelings, and pass his life in cheerless celibacy, nor does he find his material comforts reduced by an early marriage with a prudent and well chosen partner. The pretty young wife, therefore, whom our economical enchanters had conjured away, now reappears, but no longer brings with her the fatal dish of potatoes, which before deprived her of half her attractions. The smoking steak, with its garniture of bread and beer, no longer deceptive and unsubstantial visions, assumes a tangible form and a permanent position on the table. A troop of healthy children flourish like olive plants around and upon them; and the whole scene exhibits a charming picture of simple but real happiness.

Such is the condition of the laboring class, that is, the mass of the people, wherever the state of civilization is such, that the mass of the people are generally industrious and temperate. The more deserving part of them, that is, those who are somewhat more active, industrious, and provident than the rest, realize a regular profit from their labor, and gradually accumulate a moderate capital. We have all read the history of the Forty Thieves, in which the uttering of the magical word *sesame* is supposed to open a passage through a solid rock. The cheerful sounds of *profits and accumulated capital* produce an effect less marvellous, but far more pleasant on the laborer's condition. A troop of minor comforts and humble luxuries gather round him and his family at the very mention of the names,—the decent holiday apparel, the Sunday's board

crowned with rural dainties, education for his children, and a gradual improvement of his own circumstances; until, after beginning as a common workman, he finishes, perhaps, as a justice of the peace; holds his own court of a week day; sits on Sunday with a proud satisfaction, only chastened by the reverence due to the place, under the pastoral instructions of his son, proclaiming the word of life from the pulpit; beholds his daughters forming well assorted marriages with the neighboring youth; and finds himself at last the patriarch of a numerous group of children, grandchildren, and family connexions, which rise up around him, calling and making him blessed.

The condition of the mass of the people is not therefore abject and wretched, by the necessary operation of the standing laws of nature; but depends on the agency of two principal circumstances; the state of civilization, and in each particular case the character of the individual. Accordingly as the habits of the individual rise above or fall below the standard of morals established around him, he will be either prosperous or unhappy, as compared with his neighbors and countrymen. Thus far everything depends upon himself; but no personal superiority over those about him will place him on a level with men, whose characters are formed upon a higher model. A respectable Hottentot is a being quite inferior to a common European or American. Much, therefore, depends upon the circumstances under which the individual character is formed, and in this particular a man can do but little for himself. If he have enjoyed the benefit of a social position favorable to happiness and virtue, he should regard and be grateful for it as a blessing of Providence.

But though the individual can in general do but little in raising himself above the standard of civilization, upon which his character is formed, the standard may itself be elevated by the efforts of powerful minds, whose talents and advantages enable them to exercise an extensive influence over the opinions and fortunes of others. By diffusing the knowledge of truth, by correcting errors, and reforming their practical results, by laboring to improve the great institutions of religion and government, which rule with imperial and almost unbounded sway the characters of men, by perfecting the modes of education, and finally by holding up the high example of a pure, disinterested, and honorable life, they may very much meliorate the circumstances under which the individual characters of their

countrymen are formed, and bequeath a permanent legacy of virtue and happiness to future generations. The philosophy of the new economical school teaches us, that such expectations are idle and visionary; and that no improvements in religion, education, or government can effect any favorable change in the condition of the mass of mankind, who, according to them, are everywhere condemned by the standing laws of nature to a state of abject wretchedness. Without going quite so far as the illustrious Roman orator, who declared that he would rather be in the wrong with Plato than in the right with Epicurus, we cannot but feel a strong satisfaction in finding what we think good grounds for rejecting this gloomy, though at present popular system; and shall be happy, if we have been able to communicate to the minds of our readers the convictions of our own.

It is time, however, to bring these remarks to a close. Although we have extended them to the full limits of a long article, it has not been in our power to do more than indicate, very briefly and rapidly, the leading errors of the system we have been considering, and the more correct principles which we have ventured to propose in their place. We must leave it to the intelligence of our readers to follow out these principles into their conclusions. They will be found to modify more or less, in almost all its parts, the science of political economy, as now understood and taught in England; and to give it a more agreeable and satisfactory aspect than it wears at present. In treating at times with levity, and occasionally with some degree of harshness, the prevailing doctrines, we have no intention, as we have already declared, of attacking the motives or depreciating the characters of their adherents. We believe the system to be not only erroneous, but in a high degree antisocial, and of course immoral; but the experience of the world has shown, that opinions of this description may be held and promulgated by very good and able men.

Mr M'Culloch, whose work is immediately before us, has personally but little to answer for as respects the merits of the system, as he belongs in substance to the class of commentators and compilers. Mr Malthus is the chief authority with this whole school, which was also sustained in the British Parliament and in his writings by the late Mr Ricardo, and to which Mr Brougham has given his personal sanction, and probably that of the *Edinburgh Review*. All these gentlemen are among the

most intelligent and philanthropic men of the age, and their imposing names would almost necessarily give a temporary currency to any opinion. The unsettled state of the public mind in England, upon all the main points of moral and political philosophy, and the questionable character of the theories most generally received respecting them, are also among the causes that have contributed to favor the circulation of these repulsive paradoxes. Society reposes, one might almost say, *ex vi termini*, upon the basis of the social instincts and affections, and no system of moral science could ever gain a complete ascendancy in any civilized community, that did not acknowledge their reality and importance. Wherever, therefore, the public opinion on these subjects was completely formed, no theory of any branch of political philosophy, which, like the one in question, should proscribe the social affections, and declare them to be merely pernicious illusions, would have any chance of success. But the nations of Europe have been so much distracted, for centuries past, by a series of revolutions and antirevolutions in government, most of them immediately connected with the state of public opinion on the leading principles of morals, and in turn producing a reaction upon it, that this most important branch of science has never yet acquired among them a consistent and settled shape.

The doctrines now most popular, especially in England, are by a strange kind of fatality, those which fairly invert the social pyramid, and place it upright upon its apex, by founding society precisely on the antisocial principle, improperly called *self love*. Such opinions, however improbable in themselves, tend, if once admitted, to facilitate the adoption of any theory that depreciates the value of the social affections. We may reasonably expect, that the current notions on these subjects will in time give place to others of a sounder and loftier cast, but we rather doubt whether we ought to look for such a reformation to the mother country; where all the literary and philosophical pursuits, that rise at all above the level of the business and amusement of daily life, seem to have fallen into a state of hopeless decrepitude. It is in this our young and flourishing republic, if we are not too much deceived by our own partialities, and what we think the signs of the times, that we shall behold, and that at no very distant period, a restoration of the true social philosophy, and shall see, perhaps for the first time in the history of man, the great science of morals assume a fixed and

stable form. Our political institutions favor in every way the developement of the best and noblest sentiments, and our prosperous national position, prospective and present, naturally leads us to regard the destiny and fortunes of man on the bright side.

Whenever this reform or anything like it shall happen, the antisocial paradoxes we have now been considering will fall of themselves, as worthless appendages of exploded and degrading heresies. We observe, already, the stirrings of a spirit, which seems to prognosticate this new order of things. The strains of pure and sweet poetry, that rise upon the public sense, like 'a cloud of rich distilled perfumes,' in the unaffected freshness of nature on every side; the copious vein of elegant literature, far more precious than our new found mines of gold, that has been opened in our native mountains, under the shade of our antique forests, and is now wrought with such brilliant success, the recent awakening of the patriotic fervor of '76, which has burst upon the nation in a glorious flood of eloquence unmingled, for the first time, with the bitterness of party spirit, and unsurpassed, whether for the elevation of the matter, or the classical perfection of the form, by the highest efforts of any age or country; these, we say, are the splendid signs of the times, that forebode the era of a sounder and more generous moral philosophy, than the heartless system that now prevails in England.

ART. VII.—1. *Message of the President of the United States, transmitting Copies of the several Instructions to the Ministers of the United States to the Government of France, and of the Correspondence with said Government, having Reference to the Spoliations committed by that Power, on the Commerce of the United States, anterior to September 30th, 1800, &c. In compliance with a Resolution of the Senate. May 20th, 1826.*

2. *A Sketch of the Claims of sundry American Citizens on the Government of the United States for Indemnity for Depredations committed on their Property by the French (prior to the 30th of September, 1800), which were ac-*

known by France, and voluntarily surrendered to her by the United States, for a valuable National Consideration, in the Convention of that date. By A CITIZEN OF BALTIMORE.

3. *Report of the Select Committee to whom were referred the Petitions of Joseph Emerson and many Others, praying to be remunerated for Losses sustained by Captures and other Injuries, under Authority of the French Republic, in the Senate of the United States. Feb. 8th, 1827.*

THE document first named, at the head of this article, forming an octavo volume of more than eight hundred pages, contains various things, which, at different periods, have been deemed matters of the most intense public interest, but which now scarcely awaken the attention, except of the curious student of our political history. On the first of March, 1796, General Washington communicated to Congress a copy of the British treaty. The next day (although this does not appear from the journal) Mr Livingston, then member for New York, and now for Louisiana, laid on the table his famous resolution, calling on the President for the instructions, under which that treaty was negotiated by Judge Jay. On the seventh, the resolution was taken up and a debate began, which lasted without intermission till the twentyfourth. No debate had ever occurred, since the organization of the government, of a more purely partisan character; and, on taking the question, General Washington's administration was left in a minority, by a vote of nearly two to one.* A week after, General Washington sent a Message to the House, refusing to communicate the papers asked for, and assigning his reasons for that refusal. This refusal was considered a very strong measure, and increased the eagerness to see the papers to an extravagant height.

These famous instructions are contained at length, among the documents accompanying the Message, named first at the head of the article. This is the first time they were ever made public, and, excepting in the pamphlet named second at the head of this article, this present allusion to them is the first, as far as we are aware, that has ever been made, although they have been in print now nearly a twelvemonth. Such is the effect of time on questions of party politics.

* Ayes 62, Nays 37, absent 5.

Before we leave the subject, it may be observed, that the question of communicating or withholding the instructions must have been, with General Washington, purely a constitutional question. It does not appear, on examining them, that they contain anything which it would have been inconvenient or prejudicial to the administration to divulge. On the contrary, the publication of the instructions would have furnished a sufficient defence of the administration against the only charge which it was supposed the instructions would substantiate, namely, that of sacrificing the obligations, which the United States, by the treaty of 1778 and the consular convention of 1788 were under to France. Every point in the instructions was left to Judge Jay's discretion, to be modified as he should think best, except in the following cases, in which they were declared to be immutable.

‘1. That as the British ministry will doubtless be solicitous to detach us from France, and may probably make some overture of this kind, you will inform them, that the government of the United States will not derogate from our treaties and engagements with France; and that experience has shown, that we can be honest, in our duties to the British nation, without laying ourselves under any particular restraints as to other nations.

‘And, 2dly, that no treaty of commerce be concluded or signed, contrary to the foregoing prohibition.’

Whether, in the general effect of the treaty concluded, the first point of these instructions was not departed from, is a question which we will not here attempt to discuss. It belongs to the history of the politics of the United States, which, in all essential particulars, is yet unwritten.

But these instructions are by no means the only curious portion of the document under consideration. It contains papers, now for the first time published, in their nature far more important than the instructions of 1794, and relative to a matter of still greater interest in our political history. We mean the instructions to Messrs Murray, Davie, and Ellsworth, who composed the second special commission sent to the French republic; two journals of these envoys, one seemingly intended for publication, the other more confidential; their correspondence with the French ministers and with the American government, and the negotiation and correspondence of Mr Murray, relative to the ratification of the convention of 1800. Not a line of these documents, containing the history of a negotiation, which

was the leading event in the great revolution of our politics that was consummated in 1801, and which averted a foreign war, was ever before published. They will be found replete with the most curious and important matter, and it were really to be wished that our public journals could spare a portion of their columns from the electioneering service, and devote them to the circulation of these interesting materials of our political history.

Further, the volume contains a considerable part of the correspondence between the American government and its minister abroad, and between the latter and the French government, relative to the purchase of Louisiana. These papers are also now for the first time brought to light. They furnish the materials, whereby, with a little care, the history of this memorable acquisition may be traced. Several of the letters are of a most important character, but we have not time more particularly to notice them.

Lastly, the volume comprises numerous documents relative to that most strange, and unsatisfactory affair, the liquidation and payment of American claims, provided for by the Louisiana convention. Among them is the 'conjectural note,' forming a part of the Louisiana conventions, but not printed with them. These papers, with the pamphlet of Mr M'Clure, which has become exceedingly scarce, present a view of the controversy between Chancellor Livingston, our minister in France, and Messrs Mercer, M'Clure, and Barnet, the commissioners under the convention. One thing is evident, that the American government, in giving its assent to the principle, that the claims should be paid as fast as they were liquidated, acted under the impression that the fund provided was fully adequate to all the claims. As soon as the contrary was found to be true, Mr Madison, by direction of the President, exerted himself to procure a *pro ratâ* distribution among all the claimants. This, however could not take place, under the terms of the convention, which required an immediate payment of principal and interest of each claim, as soon as it was liquidated; and insuperable obstacles presented themselves to the rectification of this oversight by a new convention. The consequence was, that about half the claims were paid, principle and interest, and the other half, *though liquidated*, were not paid at all.

Were it possible, at this distance of time, to lay bare the progress of this transaction, in all its details at the board of

liquidation and *comptabilité* at Paris, we apprehend it would disclose scenes, which would throw a strong light on the wisdom and forethought of the administration who negotiated the late Florida treaty, in providing for the erection of a tribunal for liquidation and payment beneath their own eye.

The second article, of which we have given the title at the head of these remarks, we may ascribe, without indelicacy to Mr J. H. Causten, of Baltimore, a gentleman, to whom those who are interested in the recognition, by the American government, of the claims on France which were renounced by the convention of 1800, are deeply indebted. To his indefatigable exertions, aided by the liberal indulgence of the department of state, it is mainly owing, that the immense mass of documents, forming the first article under review, have been selected and prepared for transcription, in the archives of the government. In addition to the service thus rendered, Mr Causten's able pamphlet contains a learned and profound investigation of the subject; and, without being able to subscribe to all his views, we can cheerfully express the opinion, that he has treated the subject with extraordinary diligence and no little acuteness.

We have also named at the head of our article, the report of a select committee of the Senate of the United States on this subject. It may be recollected by our readers that in May, 1824, a resolution passed both Houses of Congress calling upon the executive for the communication of papers illustrative of the claims in question. The great amount of the documents included in this call prevented a compliance with it, till toward the close of the first session of the nineteenth Congress. Fortified by the contents of these papers, renewed memorials were last winter presented to Congress through the Senate, by those interested in the claims. These memorials were referred to a select committee, of which Mr Holmes, a senator of Maine, was chairman. We shall give a more particular account of this important paper, before closing our remarks.

It may be in the memory of those of our readers who take an interest in this question, that it has been once before examined, somewhat in detail, in the pages of the North American Review. In our number for January, 1826, we gave an account of the origin of the claims of our citizens in the various illegal acts of the French government and its agents, whereby

an immense quantity of American property was seized, confiscated, or destroyed, in the ports of France, or of her colonies, or on the high seas. The estimated amount of all the claims on France in 1797 was fifteen millions of dollars.

The French government, on the other hand, brought forward heavy claims on the American government, founded upon the treaty of alliance of 1778, whereby France and the United States guarantied to each other the integrity of their possessions severally, and on the consular convention of 1788, which (as the French government alleged) entitled them to privileges in our ports, which, after having been practically withheld, were formally contravened by the provisions of Jay's treaty.

The settlement of these differences formed the chief subject of the negotiation entrusted to Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry. The instructions of these ministers, published shortly after the termination of their mission, showed, in a very clear light, the sense of the American government of the onerous nature of their obligations to France, under the treaty of 1778 and the convention of 1788.

When our former article was written, no part of the instructions to Messrs Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray, who formed the second mission to France; nor of their negotiations; nor of their correspondence with their own government; nor, finally, of the correspondence of Mr Murray with the French government, relative to the ratification of the treaty, which had been ratified by the Senate of the United States, with the exception of the second article, had ever been published. These important and valuable documents are now in print, and as the great strength of the claim lies in them, we shall need no apology for offering our readers an analysis of them.

The second extraordinary mission to France consisted, by the first appointment, of Chief Justice Ellsworth, Patrick Henry, and William Vans Murray, then our minister in Holland. Mr Henry declined, and General Davie, of North Carolina, was appointed in his place.

The instructions to these commissioners bore date twenty-second of October, 1799. The first article in these instructions is expressed in the following terms;

'At the opening of the negotiation, you will inform the French ministers, that the United States expect from France, *as an indispensable condition of the treaty*, a stipulation to make to the citi-

zens of the United States full compensation for all losses and damages, which they shall have sustained by reason of irregular or illegal captures, or condemnation of their vessels and other property, under color of authority or commissions from the French republic or its agents.'

Our commissioners arrived in Paris on the second of March, 1800, and found the Directory subverted and Bonaparte in power as First Consul. On the eighth of the month his brother Joseph Bonaparte, C. P. C. Fleurieu, and M. Roederer were appointed on the part of France, to negotiate with our envoys.

On the 7th of April (the full powers having been satisfactorily exchanged in the interval), the negotiation was opened by a note of our ministers, in which they thus express themselves;

'To satisfy the demands of justice, and render a reconciliation cordial and permanent, they propose an arrangement, such as shall be compatible with national honor and existing circumstances, to ascertain and discharge the equitable claims of the citizens of either nation upon the other, whether founded on contract, treaty, or the law of nations.'

On the ninth, a reply was made by the French ministers, in which they thus express themselves, on the leading topic of the note of our envoys;

'They think that the first object of the negotiation ought to be, the determination of the regulations and the steps to be followed, for the estimation and indemnification of injuries, for which either nation may make claim for itself, or for any of its citizens.'

We have made these citations, to show that, in the understanding of our envoys, the indemnification of our citizens was the first point to be secured, and that the commissioners of the French government admitted, that a mutual indemnification was the first object to be provided for on just principles.

With a view to bring the negotiations to a point, our ministers, on the eighteenth of the same month, presented to the French commissioners a portion of the *projet* of a treaty, the first article of which is the usual one, establishing peace and friendship. The second commences in the following manner;

'Whereas complaints have been made, by divers merchants and other citizens of the United States, that, during the course of the war, in which the French republic is now engaged, they have sustained considerable losses and damages, by reason of irregular or illegal captures and condemnations of their vessels and

other property, in ports and places, within the jurisdiction or dominions of the said republic, or under color of authority or commission from the same, for which losses and damages they have failed, without manifest neglect or wilful omission on their part, to obtain adequate compensation, it is agreed, that, in all such cases, full and complete compensation shall be made by the government of the French republic.'

On the sixth of May, the ministers on the part of France returned an answer to this communication of the American *projet*. They here, for the first time, touch the matter, out of which grew the great embarrassment of the negotiation.

In the close of their second article the American ministers had introduced this provision, namely;

'They [a board of liquidation to be raised] shall decide the demands according to their original and intrinsic merit, conformably to justice and the law of nations; and, in all cases of complaint prior to the seventh of July, 1798, they shall pronounce agreeably to the treaties and consular convention, then existing between France and the United States.'

The reason why the seventh of July, 1798, was thus assumed, as a dividing point between the two classes of claims,—those accruing before and those after that date, was, that this day was the date of the law, by which the treaties between France and the United States purported to be annulled. Supposing that annulment to be valid, the claims before that day would of course be decided by the treaties and the consular convention between France and the United States, while the claims subsequent to that date could rest only on the general principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations.

Alluding to this distinction, the French commissioners, in their note of May 6th, 1800, thus express themselves;

'The ministers see no reason which authorizes a distinction between the time prior to the seventh of July, 1798, and the time subsequent, for the purpose of applying to damages, which have taken place in the former, the dispositions of the treaty, and only the principles of the law of nations to those which have taken place during the latter. The mission [commission] of the ministers of the French republic has pointed out to them the treaties of alliance, friendship, and commerce, and the consular convention, as the only foundations of their negotiations. Upon these acts has arisen the misunderstanding, and it seems proper that, upon these acts, union and friendship should be established. When the undersigned hastened to acknowledge the principle of

compensation, it was in order to give an unequivocal evidence of the fidelity of the French government to its ancient engagements, every pecuniary stipulation appearing to it expedient, as a consequence of ancient treaties, and not as the preliminary of a new one.'

On the eighth of May, the American envoys returned an answer to the French commissioners, accompanied by the remainder of their *projet* of a treaty. In this answer, they state the reason why the seventh of July was assumed as a point of division between the claims which accrued respectively before and after that day; which reason, of course was, that on that day, a law was passed by the American legislature, declaring that the treaties and consular convention with France had ceased to bind the United States.

To this course of procedure, proposed by the American envoys, the French ministers made this decided and (we must own, in our judgment) pretty reasonable objection; in the words of our envoys, 'The French think it hard to indemnify for violating engagements, unless they can thereby be restored to the benefits of them.'

The American government, it will be considered, was resolved not to revive the treaties of 1778, nor the consular convention of 1788. This circumstance gives force to the French objection. The following extract from the journal of our envoys, under date of May 23, 1800, conveys this objection in ample form.

'The French ministers had frequently mentioned in conversation the insuperable repugnance of their government to yield its claims to the anteriority, assured to it in the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, urging the equivalent alleged to be accorded by France for this stipulation; the meritorious ground on which they generally represented the treaty stood; denying strenuously the power of the American government to annul the treaties by a simple legislative act; and always concluding, that it was perfectly incompatible with the honor and dignity of France to assent to the extinction of a right in favor of an enemy, and much more so to appear to acquiesce in the establishment of that right in favor of Great Britain. The priority with respect to the right of asylum for privateers and prizes, was the only point in the old treaty on which they had anxiously insisted.'

On the twentythird of May, the American envoys were informed that the French commissioners were at a stand for the want of fresh instructions from the First Consul; those which

they had started with, resting on the basis of a renewal of the former treaties and the consular convention of 1788. The First Consul was then in Switzerland, and this circumstance occasioned a considerable delay. Before the return of the First Consul, the American ministers, as a last effort, proposed an article, which went to delay the payment of indemnities, till the United States should have offered to put France on an equal footing with any other power, in respect to asylum for privateers. As this could not be done while Jay's treaty subsisted, an intimation was made by our envoys, that such an article *might* be offered to France, in a little more than two years, that is, after the expiration of the period to which Jay's treaty was limited.

On the return of the First Consul from his successes in Italy, a decisive answer was returned by the French commissioners, rejecting the modified proposal of the American envoys and concluding with the following alternative:

‘Thus, the propositions which the ministers have the honor to communicate to the envoys are reduced to this simple alternative;

‘Either the ancient treaties, with the privileges resulting from priority, and the stipulation of reciprocal indemnities;

‘Or a new treaty, assuring *equality* without indemnity.’

On the fifteenth of August our envoys had an interview with the French ministers for the purpose of further explanation of some points, in the last despatch, and the following is the manner in which they express themselves in their journal, as to the result of this interview;

‘It now became necessary to decide, whether the negotiation should be broken off, or the instructions departed from; whether the treaties should be revived or the indemnities sacrificed; and if the treaties were revived, whether (after considering the text of the French note, and the obstinacy with which the ministers adhered to it) an attempt should be made to effect a modification, that might enable our government to extinguish the exclusive privileges of France.’

In pursuance of this last idea, the American envoys made a proposal to the French minister, embracing substantially the following provisions.

1. To revive the former treaties.

2. To allow either party, within seven years, by paying three millions of francs to reduce the rights of the other party with respect to privateers to the footing of the most favored nation, *on which footing also the right is meantime to rest.*

3. To commute the mutual guaranty into an obligation, that when the United States shall be attacked, France shall furnish them one million francs in military stores; and when the French possessions in America, in any future war, shall be attacked, the United States shall furnish one million francs in provisions; and further, that either party may wholly liberate itself from the obligation of guaranty by paying to the other, within seven years, five millions of francs.

Other articles in this proposed arrangement made provision for the mutual stipulation of indemnities and restoration of captured property.

The clause *Italicised*, in the second of the above propositions, was that, to which the French ministers most perseveringly adhered; not, probably, because they now attached much importance to securing the privileges formerly guarantied to their privateers, but because they perceived that the treaty of 1794 with England inextricably embarrassed the American government on this head. To this effect therefore the French ministers reply as follows.

‘In the last conference, it was clearly understood, and even reduced to writing, that the first part of the alternative essentially excluded all modification operating upon any one of the points controverted in the negotiation, and especially on the privileges secured to the French nation [by the treaties and consular convention] over other powers. The note, however, of the American Ministers proposes an essential modification of the seventeenth article of the treaty [of amity and commerce]. It is therefore evident that this note rests on the second part of the alternative, which consisted of an offer of a *new treaty without indemnity*. The French ministers therefore insist upon the condition, that all stipulation for indemnity be laid aside.’*

The French ministers, however, notwithstanding this protest, add, ‘that France will give to the United States a new proof of her amicable intentions, by consenting, at the same time, to the modification of her treaties and to the principle of indemnities.’

They then offer a counter project, embracing the following provisions in substance.

* We have changed a few words in this extract, in order to give the sense more distinctly, than it appears in the document quoted, either from the obscurity of the original or the defect of the translation.

1. Full revival of the ancient treaties.
2. Commissioners to be appointed to liquidate losses on both sides.
3. The right of French privateers in the ports of the United States secured by the seventeenth article of the treaty of commerce of 1778 is continued in full force, with a proviso saving for seven years the like right, which may have accrued to England, by the treaty of 1794.

4. If the United States do not, within seven years, establish to France her rights *entire*, under this article, the indemnities awarded shall not be paid.

5. The guaranty shall be commuted into a supply of two millions of francs, or redeemed by a payment of ten millions.

These propositions, besides other disadvantages, were incompatible with the obligations understood to have been created by Jay's treaty. The American envoys accordingly offered, on the twentieth of August, another proposal, which was in substance as follows.

That in consideration of eight millions of francs to be paid by the United States to France, the United States should be released from the obligation of guaranty, under the treaty of alliance, and the rights of France, under the seventeenth article of the treaty of commerce, should be reduced to those of the most favored nation. In addition to this, indemnities were to be allowed and paid.

On the fifth of September a *counter project* was returned by the French ministers, in the following laconic despatch.

‘To the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris.

‘We shall have a right to take our prizes into the ports of America.

‘A commission shall regulate the indemnities, which either of the two nations may owe to the citizens of the other.

‘The indemnities, which shall be due by France to the citizens of the United States, shall be paid for by the United States. And in return for which, France yields the exclusive privilege resulting from the seventeenth and twentysecond articles of the treaty of commerce, and from the rights of guaranty of the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance.

‘Signed

BONAPARTE.

C. P. CLARET FLEURIEU.

ROEDERER.’

To this proposal the American envoys returned the following answer.

‘ For the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

‘ The American Ministers consider the propositions received from the Ministers Plenipotentiary of France yesterday, under date of the seventeenth Fructidor, as altogether inadmissible. The nearest approach to them, which the Envoys can make, is,

‘ 1. The former treaties shall be renewed and confirmed.

‘ 2. The obligations of the guarantee shall be specified and limited, as in the first paragraph of their third proposition of the twentieth of August.

‘ 3. There shall be mutual indemnities, and a mutual restoration of captured property not yet definitively condemned, according to their fifth and sixth propositions of that date.

‘ 4. If, at the exchange of ratifications, the United States shall propose a mutual relinquishment of indemnities, the French Republic will agree to the same ; and in such case, the former treaties shall not be deemed obligatory, except that under the seventeenth and twentysecond articles of that of commerce, the parties shall continue *for ever* to have for their public ships of war, privateers, and prizes, such privileges in the ports of each other, as the most favored nation shall enjoy.’

An interview took place a few days after, between the American envoys and the French ministers, in which the latter avowed that it was their object to avoid, by every means, any engagement to pay indemnities, and in which the American envoys were brought to the conclusion, that any further attempt to obtain a treaty was vain, unless the provision for indemnities was abandoned. They accordingly offered the next day the following proposals to the French ministers.

‘ The discussion of former treaties, and of indemnities, being for the present closed, it must, of course, be postponed till it can be resumed with fewer embarrassments. It remains only to consider the expediency of a temporary arrangement. Should such an arrangement comport with the views of France, the following principles are offered as the basis of it.

‘ 1. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the respective parties, not being able to agree respecting the former treaties and indemnities, the parties will, in due and convenient time, further treat on those subjects ; and until they shall have agreed respecting the same, the said treaties shall have no operation. In the meantime,

‘ 2. The parties shall abstain from all unfriendly acts ; their commercial intercourse shall be free, and debts shall be recoverable in the same manner as if no misunderstanding had intervened.

‘ 3. Property captured, and not yet definitively condemned, or which may be captured before the exchange of ratifications, shall

be mutually restored. Proofs of ownership to be specified in the convention.

‘4. Some provisional regulations shall be made to prevent abuses and disputes, that may arise out of future cases of capture.’

After some days’ consideration and conference, the French envoys returned the following proposal.

‘The French and American Ministers having admitted, at the close of repeated discussions, that they could not then agree upon the interpretation of the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance, and of the seventeenth and twentysecond of the treaty of commerce of 1778, or upon the reciprocal indemnities that may arise out of the capture of prizes from individuals of both nations, have agreed upon what follows.

‘1. The parties put off to another time the discussions of indemnities and of the above three articles of the treaties of 1778, which treaties are, moreover, acknowledged and confirmed by these presents, as well as the consular convention of 1788.

‘2. The ships of the two nations, and their privateers, accompanied by their prizes, shall be treated in the respective ports, as those of the most favored nation.

‘3. National ships shall be restored or paid for.

‘4. The property of individuals not yet tried, shall be so, according to the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, in consequence of which a *rôle d’équipage* shall not be exacted, nor any other proof which this treaty could not exact.

On the basis of these two proposals, the negotiation recommenced, and was continued *de die in diem*, till the treaty was signed.

The great point of embarrassment and difficulty was disposed of, in the second article, in the following terms;

‘Art. 2d. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the two parties not being able to agree at present, respecting the treaty of alliance of the sixth of February, 1778, the treaty of amity and commerce of the same date, and the convention of the fourteenth of November, 1788, nor upon the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the parties will negotiate further on these subjects at a convenient time; and until they may have agreed upon these points, the said treaties and convention shall have no operation, and the relations of the two countries shall be regulated as follows.

The convention thus negotiated was on the sixteenth of December, 1800, laid before the senate of the United States, and on the third of February, 1801, the consent of that body was given to its ratification, with the exception of the second article, and the addition of another, limiting the duration of the

convention to eight years. With these modifications, it was ratified by the President, then about to retire from office.

Mr Murray was employed on the part of the United States to exchange the ratification of the treaty. Messrs Bonaparte, Fleurieu, and Roederer were employed in the same service, on the part of France. These ministers immediately inquired of Mr Murray, what were 'the motives of reciprocal interest,' which led to the suppression of the second article. Mr Murray frankly informed the French ministers, that he had no instructions on the subject; but that he presumed the object of suppressing the second article to be, to remove from the convention everything connected with an unsatisfactory and unpromising discussion. On this explanation, a correspondence arose between Mr Murray and the French ministers, which ended in the refusal of the latter to ratify the treaty, with the omission of the second article, unless it should be expressly stated, that this omission was intended as a mutual renunciation of claims and indemnities. To this Mr Murray was finally obliged to accede, and the proviso was introduced into the ratifying clause in the following form;

'The government of the United States having added to its ratification, that the convention should be in force for the space of eight years, and having omitted the second article, the government of the French Republic consents to accept, ratify, and confirm the above convention, with the addition importing that the convention shall be in force for the space of eight years, and with the retrenchment of the second article; *provided, that by this retrenchment the two states renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article.*'

The convention came back from France with this addition, was again referred to the senate of the United States, and by them the addition was sanctioned by a resolution, that they 'consider the said convention as fully ratified.'

Such is the history of this convention. We shall not now go into an argument on the subject. Such of our readers as may bear in mind the contents of the article on this subject, in the North American Review for January, 1826, may there find the principal points of the case.

The report of the select committee of the senate is an able and a valuable document. It presents in prominent relief a view of the claims, which France could reasonably make and did make against the government of the United States, both

under the treaties and under the consular convention. The pertinency of this view is evident, because, the stronger the claims of France on the United States, the more valuable was the consideration, for which the claims of our citizens were renounced by our government. The report also relates the history of the convention of 1800, and expresses decidedly the opinion that compensation is due to the claimants. The amount of the claims is estimated, in the report, at eight millions of dollars. It concludes with a resolution, calling upon the President of the United States, to procure the evidence and documents relating to these claims, and to cause an abstract of them to be laid before the senate, at the commencement of the next session of congress. This resolution was proposed by the committee, under the persuasion that the evidence in support of these claims is deposited in the bureau of the American minister or agent at Paris. This resolution was debated in one of the last days of the late session of Congress, and after an opposition, chiefly on the part of senators from the states in which the smaller number of the claimants may be supposed to reside, it was laid on the table.

Having, however, already exceeded the limits which we originally proposed to ourselves, we shall close with a few brief statements.

The amount of these claims has been portentously overrated. They have been stated on the floor of the senate at two hundred millions of dollars. The instructions of General Pinckney and his colleagues stated them at fifteen millions. Of this amount, nearly four millions of dollars were paid under the Louisiana Convention. Making this deduction and a fair allowance for exaggeration, three or four millions are probably the extent of what a commission would award.

It was the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall, expressed as one of the envoys, that, 'if they (the envoys) renounced them, or did not by an article in the treaty save them, the United States would thereby become liable for them to her citizens.'

From the beginning to the end of the negotiation, France admitted the justice of the claims, and professed her readiness to make indemnity to our citizens.

This the American government declined to accept, because the French coupled with it the recognition of their own claims under treaties with us.

Our government proposed to buy off these French preten-

sions by a very large sum of money, and it was unquestionably a vast political object to be relieved from them.

This object was effected solely and entirely by the renunciation of these claims.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who was at the head of the French government when this convention was negotiated, said, at St Helena, that 'the suppression of the second article of the convention put an end to the privileges which France possessed by the treaties of 1778, and annulled the just claims which America might have made for injuries done in time of peace.'

Spain having, in 1804, sought to evade the obligation of certain claims for spoliations in her ports, on the ground that these were French acts, for which the United States had renounced indemnity (and in this pretension Spain was backed by France), Mr Madison wrote to Mr Pinkney thus. 'The claims again, from which France was released were *admitted by France*, and the release was *for a valuable consideration*, in a correspondent release of the United States from certain claims on them.'

If something be not due to the claimants under this state of facts, the natural principles of right are illusory, and the provision of the constitution is worthless, which prescribes that 'private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.'

ART. VIII.—*America ; or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the several Powers of the Western Continent, with Conjectures on their future Prospects.* By A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, Author of 'Europe,' &c. Philadelphia. H. C. Carey & I. Lea. 1827.

THE appearance of this work has been expected with no inconsiderable degree of interest. It was generally supposed that a volume from the pen of the author of 'Europe,' whatever other qualities it might possess, could scarcely fail of being an ingenious and elegant production, and this expectation has been amply verified in the present instance. We believe that this work will be generally considered as a valuable accession to American literature, and it is by no means necessary in

order to appreciate its merits in this respect, to coincide in all the opinions and views which it contains.

The subject, which our author has selected, independent of his other weighty claims on our attention, is sufficient to recommend his remarks to a careful perusal. Our attachment to our country, as to all other objects, is in some degree proportioned to the frequency, with which she is presented to our thoughts; and an able and elegant treatise on her condition and prospects, may contain much that is open to dispute, and yet be highly valuable to our fellow citizens, on account of the reflections which it suggests, and the feelings which it tends to cherish.

The style, in which this work is written, would alone warrant us in placing it as a mere literary production in the highest rank of English classics. It is a style equally free from the meretricious ornament so prevalent in our own country; and from the colloquial roughness which distinguishes many of the ablest British authors of the present time. It affords a striking proof that vigorous thoughts lose nothing of their power, by being embodied in harmonious language, that a style by being easy does not cease to be energetic, that a lively imagination can utter all its conceptions, without violating the purest simplicity. To our author and to Washington Irving we are indebted for two of the most successful efforts, which have been made in the present century to revive the Attic elegance which distinguished the best writers of the days of Addison, mingled in the case of our author with much of the energy of a more modern school. It has been the fortune of these accomplished writers to acquire a high and extensive celebrity both at home and abroad, and we trust that the perusal of their works has not been wholly without its effect on the literary character of our country. Every candid mind must be convinced that whatever other causes may have impeded our progress in literature, a progress, which we have no disposition to exaggerate, it has been neither a deficiency of talent, nor a total want of the means of literary improvement. Both our author and Mr Irving are men born and educated in the United States, and we cannot forbear to speak of the former as one of the alumni of our venerable university, and to ask whether this is not one fact among many others, tending to place that institution in rather a different light, from that in which it has been sometimes represented.

The motives which led to the production of this work may be learned from a perusal of the following concluding remarks.

‘It is time, however, to conclude these reflections. Notwithstanding the disclaims I have made of Utopian dreams and baseless theories of all kinds, I am aware that some persons (who would perhaps regret to see them realized) will charge even the most moderate anticipations, in which I have ventured to indulge, with exaggeration. I can only say that I have advanced no conjectures, without giving what I think good reasons for them; and that if the latter can be refuted, I am quite prepared to abandon the former. Other persons perhaps may doubt the expediency of holding up these favorable pictures of our own institutions, and future prospects. Why nourish in this way, they may say, a national vanity already perhaps sufficiently exalted? If we are really a favored and prosperous nation, let us rather thank God for it, and enjoy our blessings in silence, than excite the envy and malignity of other less fortunate communities, by empty boasting. If we occupy a high and commanding stand in the political system, let us not, by indiscreetly vaunting our strength and advantages, induce other governments to attempt to deprive us of them. In these remarks, there is some degree of force; and I should regret to be considered, by competent judges as having passed the line of discretion in speaking of the political importance and future greatness of our union. But in order to appreciate fully the value of our liberty, it is absolutely necessary that we should, in the first place, correctly estimate the advantages for which we are indebted to it; and in order to discharge our duties as a nation, we must know our precise position as such, in the system of which we form a part. On both these subjects there are various opinions. Some deny that our liberty has contributed at all to our progress in wealth and greatness. Others contend that we have nothing to do as a people with foreign relations. Both these doctrines are, in my opinion, of dangerous tendency, and I have endeavored, in the course of the preceding work, to prove their incorrectness. If I have represented the government as occupying a lofty station among the leading powers of the world, it has been with a view of impressing upon the minds of our rulers and of the nation, the deep responsibility under which they act, in consequence of the immense influence, which is necessarily attached to their position, and which they must exercise even in refusing to exercise it. If I have presented a flattering image of our present situation and future prospects, it has been for the purpose of showing more distinctly the inestimable worth of the political institutions which have made us what we are. Should one or both of these great

objects be in any way effected, I shall think myself, I will not say rewarded for the trouble of writing this work, which has been to me a pleasure, *labor ipse voluptas*, but fully satisfied with its success.' pp. 363, 364.

In pursuance of these views, the principal part of this work is devoted to the consideration of the condition and prospects of the United States, viewed as one member of the great family of civilized and christian nations, which occupies, with some slight exceptions, the whole of Europe and America. These nations are divided into three classes. 1. Those communities which are governed upon the *despotic system*. In this class are placed those of the abovementioned communities, which inhabit the continent of Europe and its dependencies. Of this class Russia is represented as the leading and ruling state, while France, Austria, Prussia, and the remaining nations of the continent, are considered as in a condition of virtual subjection to her immense military power, or to borrow our author's happy expression, as 'crushed beneath the giant mass of this political colossus.' 2. Great Britain is represented as constituting, together with her dependencies, a second class of powers. In our author's opinion these dependencies are destined, at no very distant period, to sever themselves from the mother country, and the connexion between them, as it is not founded on principles either of right or policy or permanent and lasting power, must be considered as accidental and transitory. Great Britain herself is described as in a state of transition from tyranny to freedom, as exhibiting the elements of despotism and liberty, in a condition of action and incessant warfare. 3. Our author's third class is composed of those nations, which live under free and popular governments, and comprises the republics of the Western Continent. At the head of these he places our own country, which 'enjoys the proud distinction of taking the lead in the great division composed of the various new nations that cover this continent, a lead, not assumed in arrogance and maintained by force, but resulting in the course of nature from priority of national existence, and secured by continual good offices done and to be done to our sister republics.' Russia, Great Britain, and the United States are therefore, according to our author, now the three prominent and first rate powers of the civilized and christian world, and all the rest stand at present in an order secondary to one or the other of these. These are the views

laid down in our author's first chapter, which also contains some spirited remarks respecting the comparative effect of despotic, free, and mixed governments respectively.

We are prevented from quoting these remarks by their length, but shall have frequent occasion to refer to them in the course of our observations, and shall only observe, in passing, that in his picture of the situation of free and republican countries, our author has asserted respecting all the republics existing 'throughout America,' (see p. 21.) what in our humble opinion can be truly predicated in its full extent of the United States alone.

Having thus stated in his first chapter his leading opinions, our author devotes the remainder of his work to illustrating and enforcing them. We shall merely offer to our readers such cursory remarks, as have suggested themselves to us, on the perusal of his arguments. The superiority of Russia not only to any other power in Europe, but to all the powers of the European continent united, seems to be a favorite position of our author. It was maintained at some length in a former work, and is repeatedly brought forward in the present. We must beg leave now, as on a former occasion, to express a different opinion. We look in vain for proofs of this amazing preponderance. The power of Russia, great as it unquestionably is, seems to us far from sufficient to enable her to direct at will the movements of France, of Austria, or even of Prussia, still less to overcome their united forces. The memorable defeat of Napoleon in 1812 (a defeat in which the rigors of a Russian winter had, at least, *some* agency) may prove that Russia is impregnable to foreign invasion, but it proves nothing else. Who supposes that Alexander could have reached Paris in 1814, unaided by his allies? and who doubts that if the emperor of Russia should now attempt to repay the hostile visit of Napoleon, his discomfiture would be equally certain and signal? Indeed we cannot readily conceive, how France, lately the mistress of Europe, can be considered as a mere secondary power, either to Russia, or to any other nation in the world. France contains within the compass of less than two hundred thousand square miles, upwards of thirty millions of inhabitants. Her population is perfectly homogeneous in its character, more enlightened than that of any other country, with the exception of Great Britain and the United States, and distinguished by frugality, industry, courage, and patriotism.

She is no less remarkable for her physical advantages, than for the magnitude and character of her population. The mildness of her climate enables her to devote large regions to the cultivation of the vine and olive, which would be absolutely sterile under a colder sky, and scarcely any country of equal size contains so small an extent of unproductive soil. She has already risen as if by magic from the state of extreme exhaustion, to which she was reduced in 1815, to a high degree of prosperity; she is rapidly throwing off the burden of her public debt, and providing for the increase of her navy and her fortifications, with a liberality from which freer and more favored nations, might derive a useful lesson. A nation thus circumstanced has nothing to fear from the aggressions of any continental power. It is in her foreign possessions and on the ocean only, that she is vulnerable.

These remarks are made simply from a regard for what seems to us to be the literal truth. We are no advocates for the late policy of the French government. The invasion of Spain was a measure, which can have excited only one feeling in the minds of all lovers of liberty or justice. The doctrine that the subject can derive no rights or immunities from any source but the liberality of the throne, that the king and not the people is the fountain of all rightful power, is one which we presume needs no comment.

But we are none of those, who think it necessary to disguise their opinions, lest they should be suspected of desiring what they believe. The power and resources of France are one thing; the justice of her measures, the liberality of her rulers, and the freedom and happiness of her subjects, another. Believing, as we do, that she has nothing to fear from the force of Russia, we cannot admit the correctness of our author's assertion, at least in its full sense, that in overthrowing the Spanish constitution 'she acted under the influence, one might almost say under the compulsion, of that power;' nor can we allow that this triumph of bigotry and injustice over knowledge and liberty, deplorable as it was, warrants us in renouncing all expectation of any immediate improvement in the political condition of the nations of continental Europe. On the contrary, no future event seems to us more probable than the eventual progress of free principles and free institutions throughout those communities. To what degree, and in what mode, the systems of government now existing in these countries can be exchange-

ed for those of a more popular character ; what abuses can be at once extirpated and what must be corrected by a more gradual process ; what degree of liberty can now be borne by nations, which have been long buried in ignorance, and how speedily they can be fitted for a higher state of political existence ; these are questions for those more immediately concerned, and not for us to settle. But the late efforts of the patriots of Spain to erect a constitutional monarchy, though frustrated by the united force of foreign arms and domestic treachery ; the establishment of a representative branch of government, and of the trial by jury in France ; the late signal defeats, experienced by the ministry of that country in their attempts to establish the law of primogeniture, and to restrain the liberty of the press ; the freedom with which political discussions have been carried on in the very centre of Europe ; and above all, the glorious struggle of the Greeks ; these and many facts of similar import constantly passing before our eyes in the European world, are unequivocal indications, that the progress of political light and knowledge throughout Christendom can no longer be permanently arrested by any human agency ;

‘and yon grey lines

That fret the East are messengers of day.’

Great Britain is represented by our author, as we have already remarked, as in a state of transition, from a despotic to a popular government. ‘We find,’ says he ‘institutions existing together, which suppose the truth of directly opposite principles, and which, if they retain any real force, must lead of necessity to continual collision. A king, reigning by the grace of God, and a parliament, claiming and exercising the right of deposing him at pleasure ; an established church, with universal liberty of conscience and worship ; equality of rights, and hereditary privileges ; boundless prodigality in the public expenses, with a strict accountableness of all the agents ; with a thousand other incongruities of the same description.’ There is certainly much truth in this spirited picture, but it ought not to be forgotten that the British constitution, composed as it is of various and apparently discordant materials, may, after all, be in most respects better adapted than any which can be devised, to *things as they are*. Nothing can be better said on this subject than the following remarks of our author, in his chapter upon South America.

‘ In the United States, we hold nearly two millions of blacks in domestic slavery, while our senate chambers are daily echoing with our fervent protestations of zeal and affection for freedom under every color and aspect! And reason good, for it is one thing to love liberty, and another to love desolation, slaughter, and universal uproar, which would be the consequence of a simultaneous and general emancipation of the blacks. Any measure, therefore, and most of all a measure so momentous as the establishment of a new constitution of government, is not necessarily politic and expedient, merely because it is favorable to *liberty*, that is to the absence of restraint upon individuals. The absence of restraint in itself is a good thing, but the absence of all restraint would be, in other words, the absence of all government, and would of course afford no basis for any institutions. Restraint to a certain extent is everywhere necessary, and the degree to which it might be admitted, must be determined, as I have stated above, by considering not merely abstract notions and foreign examples, but also the state and condition of the people. The institutions which may be recommended by the former, can only be established with safety as far as they are also consistent with the latter. Any attempt to introduce others, however beautiful in theory, and however beneficial elsewhere, is dangerous. To say that it will certainly be ruinous or greatly injurious to the nation that makes it, would be going too far; because we know that Providence often modifies the working of general causes, so as to bring good out of evil. Dangerous and imprudent such attempts certainly are, and it is the practice of men and nations, who pretend to wisdom, before they invoke the special intervention of Providence, to exercise, in the first instance, with the greatest possible effect, the power and means, which the same Providence, operating through the general laws of nature, has placed at their disposal. pp. 190, 191.

We do not therefore look for the establishment of a republican government in Great Britain, and it belongs not to us to say whether under present circumstances, such a measure would be desirable. The popular cause in that country has sometimes been supported in a mode far different from the calm and dignified course, which was pursued by the people of this country in the establishment of our own constitution, and by men of a far other character than those who composed the Congress of 1776, and the Convention of 1787. But though we expect no *radical* change, in any sense of the word, in the constitution of Great Britain, there is much in her present system of government, which many of her wise and good

men are laboring, we trust not in vain, to extirpate. The change of public opinion in the course of half a century with respect to the slave trade is of itself a sufficient proof of how much can be effected for the cause of truth in a country, where the press is unshackled. In the early part of the reign of George the Third, the royal authority was repeatedly exerted to invalidate acts passed by our colonial legislatures for the prevention of that traffic. We scarcely need mention in what light the slave trade is now regarded. This most signal triumph of the persevering efforts of the friends of justice and humanity, is, we confidentially believe, not destined to stand alone. It argues, we think, no very sanguine temperament, to believe that the Unitarians in Great Britain will not long be debarred from the rights of freemen, that the Catholics will soon experience at least a mitigation of their present Egyptian bondage, and that the *necessity* of employing seamen without paying them an adequate compensation for their services will not always be held a sufficient justification for the most arbitrary violation of equal rights and personal liberty.

The views of our author respecting the political prospects of the South American republics, seem less sanguine than those entertained by many of our fellow citizens. 'It appears,' he observes immediately at the close of those remarks in his fifth chapter, which we have quoted in another connexion, 'rather a doubtful point whether the establishment in Spanish America, of governments as popular as that of the United States was a measure recommended by the character and condition of the people, and of course whether these governments are likely to be equally durable and successful with ours.' He afterwards observes, however, with great justice, that no foreigner probably possesses the information respecting the political situation of those immense regions, which would justify even a suggestion of the nature of the institutions that would suit them best. But though he declines pronouncing any positive opinion on the course pursued by the newly emancipated communities of South America, in the establishment of their respective constitutions, his chapter on this subject is highly interesting. It is written throughout with great ability, and throws much light, not only on the nature of the South American revolution, but on that of our own, and with the exception of the remarks on the subject of religion, we think will approve itself to every candid mind, for sound as well as

ingenious reasoning on the science of government. We recommend the whole of this chapter to the attentive perusal of our readers, and cannot forbear extracting from it the passage relating to Bolivar, particularly on account of the excellent remarks with which it closes. We trust that they will not be without their effect in repressing that prostitution of great names, now so fashionable among political writers.

‘The same remarks may be made upon the respective pretensions of Bolivar and Washington. The attempt to compare them is wholly premature. Bolivar is still in the midst of his career; and although I have no disposition whatever to cherish the doubts respecting his future conduct, which the enemies of liberty affect to entertain; although I feel the fullest confidence that he will justify the hopes of the world, and terminate as he has commenced, the glorious mission which has been allotted to him, it is nevertheless too early to award the prize before the race is run. Long as he has labored in the cause of his countrymen, and much as he has done for them, he has one thing left to do, more difficult, if we may judge at least by its rarity, than all the rest; and without which all the rest will go for nothing and worse than nothing. He has yet to show, that he knows the difference between true and false greatness, that is, between true greatness and a hoop of gold or a wooden seat covered with velvet. After subduing hostile enemies, he has yet to subdue (if he is unfortunate enough to feel them) the impulses of irregular ambition; and this is the achievement which Cicero, in his splendid but unhappily wholly unmerited encomium on Cæsar, declares to be the one which raises a man as it were above the level of humanity. The enemies of liberty in Europe, who judge of others by the consciousness they have of their own base and sordid sentiments, generally laugh at the idea that Bolivar will ever resign his truncheon and descend to private life. For my part I see no reason whatever to suspect him. His whole conduct, as far as I am acquainted with it, has been patriotic and disinterested, and affords the happiest prognostics of his future course of life. When he shall have justified, as I have no doubt he will, these high expectations, we shall be able to pronounce a favorable opinion on his general character, and to class him with the few great commanders in free states, who have been at the same time heroes and friends of their country. Even then, however, before we can compare him with Washington, he must have rendered the most important services to his fellow citizens in the foundation and administration of their civil institutions, must have rescued them from monarchy, as he had redeemed them before from foreign bondage, must have held out to them the

graceful and edifying example of a private life corresponding in dignity and purity with the glory of his public career, and finally must have brought his earthly course to an honorable end. Death, says Burke, canonizes a great character, and we may add death only; because nothing else can give us complete assurance, that the greatness we admire will be kept up without failure or fault to the last. To accomplish all this may not be so easy as Mr De Pradt, whose pen sometimes outruns his judgment, perhaps imagines. All this, however, must be done, before Bolivar can claim the honor of being a worthy and successful student in the school of Washington. Greater honor than this he need not wish, and can never under any circumstances aspire to. To place him at present above his illustrious master, is merely an idle exaggeration, and argues a very inadequate conception of the characters of both. In general the world and even his own countrymen have been somewhat too prone to raise up rivals and equals to our incomparable hero. Bonaparte was at one time the Washington of France; Iturbide in his day was a Washington. Riego and Quiroga rose in a few months from the rank of lieutenants to be the Washingtons of Spain. The name of the father of his country is too honorable a title to be lavished upon every bold adventurer, even in a cause apparently just. The world had been created nearly six thousand years, before the appearance of the first or rather the unique Washington, and it would be singular if half a dozen more should spring up like mushrooms within twenty years of his death. I would not be understood, however, to confound the name of Bolivar with those of the other pretenders to distinction, whom I have just mentioned. Should the close of his career correspond with its commencement, he will no doubt stand more nearly on a parallel with Washington, than any other character recorded in history.' pp. 181—183.

The remarks on religion, to which we have alluded, extend from page 194 to page 203. The following is the introductory paragraph.

'Without, however, pretending even to suggest an opinion as to what forms of government would be most suitable to the condition of Spanish America, much less to speak with decision on this subject, it is not very difficult to perceive that there was one important element of political power, at their disposal, which did not exist at least to the same extent and in the same shape with us, which they have certainly not entirely neglected, but of which they might perhaps have taken greater advantage than they have done, in forming their institutions—I mean *religion*. It has been made by some an objection to the constitution of these new states, that they have adopted an established religion, and that

in some of them the exercise of any other is prohibited under severe penalties. This latter clause is undoubtedly injudicious, at variance with policy as well as common humanity, and directly detrimental to the purpose which it is meant to promote. But as respects the former, instead of blaming the Spanish Americans for having done too much, I should rather be disposed to think that they had done too little; and that the religious establishment, which they did not create, but found already existing in full vigor, deeply seated in the faith, affection, and habits of the people, might have been employed, with great propriety and utility, as the mainspring and principal basis of the new political institutions. It does not belong to my purpose to state in detail what would have been in this case the modes of legislation and administration, or the names and functions of the principal magistrates. These are matters comparatively unimportant in all governments. But on this supposition, the great rule of assuming the existing state of things as the basis of the new fabric would have been observed, and at the same time an element of power been brought into action, not inferior perhaps in beneficial potency to any other, and amply competent to keep in motion the machinery of any constitution.' pp. 194, 195.

Every reader in this country will agree that our author has not employed too strong terms of censure, to say the least, in speaking of the prohibition of the exercise of any but the Catholic religion, which we believe exists in most of the republics of South America. That such a clause could be introduced into the constitution of any state professing to be free, is a most strange phenomenon in political history, and is more calculated than all other circumstances put together, to excite fearful apprehensions for the future success of rational liberty in South America. The spirit which could dictate such a provision is not that which animated those sages and heroes of our own country, for whom the nations of South America profess, we doubt not sincerely, so deep a veneration. It is possible, however, that the number of Protestants in these nations may be so inconsiderable, that this prohibition, however absurd and unjustifiable, however inconsistent with the principles on which these governments are avowedly founded, may produce but little practical evil. But should the fact be otherwise, should there be a large body of citizens in the South American republics debarred by legislative enactments from exercising what has ever been considered by all reasonable men, as one of the clearest and most inalienable rights of every human being, the right of worshipping God according to the

dictates of his own conscience, the continuation of such tyrannical provisions must, and we hesitate not to say it ought to diminish, in no inconsiderable degree, the claims of those republics to the sympathy and respect of all free and enlightened nations.

The mere establishment of a national church is a measure certainly less objectionable than that of which we have just spoken, but differing from it more in degree than in quality. We believe that public sentiment in this country is directly at variance with our author's opinion on this subject, that the South American nations, in adopting an established religion, 'have done too little rather than too much.'

We have yet to learn with what justice or consistency the tenets of a certain specified sect can be made an indispensable passport to the honors of a republican country, or how they can be rightfully supported and diffused at the expense of Christians of other denominations. Our belief in the doctrine of the necessity of separating the church from the state is too firmly established to be overthrown by our author's reasoning, ingenious as it is; and we cannot agree with him, that such a separation does not exist in our own country. The sovereignty of church and state, says he, is united in the people. But whether (admitting the entire correctness of this position) this sovereignty can be exercised, in the opinion of the people of the United States, with equal propriety in both cases, is a question, upon which some light is thrown by the fact, that in the very instrument by which they established a civil government for the union, it is declared that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' As little can we agree with our author in the remark, that our laws have hitherto wanted the advantages of a direct religious sanction. We suppose that men of every religious sect in our country assent to the correctness of the rule, that it is the religious duty of every citizen to obey all laws duly enacted by the government, under which he lives, or in the language of Scripture, 'to submit himself to every ordinance of men, for the Lord's sake'; and what other sanction could be given to our laws by any church or priesthood of human establishment, we are utterly at a loss to know;

'Scimus, et hoc nobis non altiùs inseret Hammon.'

We are told that 'religion should have been made by the lawgivers of the South, the principle in forming their political

creations, in the same way that liberty was with us.' (p. 201.) We cannot conceive in what way such a course could have been pursued without the establishment of a national church; but as we do not quite understand the suggestion, we shall hazard no farther remarks upon it.

The greater part of this work is devoted, as we have before observed, to the consideration of the condition and prospects of our own country.

With respect to our external policy, we cannot perceive that our author recommends any material variation from the course hitherto pursued by our government, of avoiding, as far as possible, any entangling connexion with foreign nations. It is truly said that a complete abstinence from all intercourse with other countries is a plan which would be highly impolitic if practicable, and which has never been avowed or defended by any one. It must be equally considered, however, as one of the greatest benefits of our local situation, that we are almost entirely exempted from the necessity of interfering in the contentions of other states, in order to protect ourselves from unjust aggression, and that consequently such a necessity can rarely be made a pretext by ambitious and unprincipled statesmen, for engaging in war for purposes of mere aggrandizement. *The balance of power*, a phrase of magical efficacy elsewhere, is little else than an empty sound to us. The only instance in which the government of our country has manifested a strong interest in the internal policy of other nations, is in their conduct towards the newly formed republics of South America. What will be the nature of our connexion with those communities, it is now impossible to say. We may safely predict, however, that it will not be of a kind to put our neutrality in unnecessary jeopardy.

The internal policy of our country is the subject of the author's fourth chapter. The greater part of this chapter is taken up with the consideration of the necessity of encouraging our manufactures. Our author combats, with great ability, the opinion, that manufacturing establishments are necessarily prejudicial to morals. The truth, we conceive to be, that in manufactories, where a number of individuals of both sexes are collected together, it is difficult to preserve a medium between great regularity and gross disorder. We have little doubt that most of those establishments in this country are distinguished by the former of these qualities.

To what degree our manufactures should be protected by our imposts is a question, on which we shall not enter. That some protection should be afforded, is a principle, which we consider as settled in the minds of a great majority of our countrymen, and which has been avowed and adopted by our government ever since the days of Hamilton. We find that the tariff of 1824 was opposed by Mr Webster, and many of its ablest adversaries, not on the abstract principle that manufactures should be left to themselves, but on the ground, that, admitting the reverse of this principle to be true, the bill itself was injudicious and unreasonable. Hence all questions, which can arise in Congress on the encouragement of manufactures, will, probably, be viewed as questions of *more or less*, and whether a tariff shall be passed or not must depend almost wholly on its details.

Our author's principal aim, in his remarks on this country, seems to be rather to present a picture of her future progress, than to describe her actual condition, or to suggest any precise course of foreign or domestic policy. We cannot feel perfectly confident of the complete fulfilment of his splendid anticipations, though we assure him it is for any other reason, than because we should regret to see them verified. But we trust it argues no despair of our republic, still less any indifference to her welfare, to look on the speculations of the ablest men with some degree of diffidence. If the political events of the last twenty years have impressed any lesson on our minds, it is the truth of the utter uncertainty of all political anticipations. What will be the precise rank of our country among the nations of the earth in power and wealth we consider only a secondary question. It is enough for us, that though not the greatest, we are the happiest of nations, and that our happiness is as secure as the lot of humanity will permit, from every one but ourselves.

ART. IX.—1. *Almack's*. A Novel. 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1827.

2. *Vivian Grey*. Part I. and Part II. 3 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. 1827.

THIS is, emphatically, the age of novel writing; and as such will be undoubtedly characterized in the annals of English

literature. We of the present generation can hardly estimate our own good fortune, in having lighted upon this prolific and entertaining epoch. Thrice blessed is the man who first devised these agreeable fictions ; which so sweetly soothe the dull ear of sickness ; exalt the fainting spirit with draughts that 'cheer but not inebriate' ; brighten the horrors of a rainy day ; dispel the tedium of a winter's evening ; and even give zest and animation to that saddest of all earthly formalities, a family party. Who has not witnessed the instantaneous effect produced on the dull, invariable visages of such a circle, by the appearance of the novel ; the muscle dilated into the sympathetic smile ; or the eye, as the plot deepens, suffused with the tear of sensibility ; while the reader, animated by the magical effects of his own voice, secretly imputes to himself half the merit which belongs to his author.

Happy indeed for us is it, that our lot was not cast in those thorny times, when 'Doctors hight Irrefragable,' Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and others, filled the world with interminable disputes on quiddities and entities, the *nugæ difficiles*, which, John of Salisbury assures us, 'were the constant amusement, even of old men who had lost all powers of disputation themselves,' but who loved to linger over these fascinating tomes of dialectics. We should hardly expect much diversion from this sort of light reading. Even in the golden days of Queen Bess, things were not materially better. Those, indeed, who had no objection to a pestilential congregation of vapors, might find abundance of merriment with Will Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, in the little Globe theatre. But plays were not printed in those days till long after they had become stale. And those quiet personages who preferred the pleasures of the fireside, were obliged to extract their mirth from the dismal affectations of the 'unparalleled Lilly', or the pastoral insipidities of Sir Philip Sidney. In later times, when 'civil dudgeon first grew high', polemics and politics were the only fashionable staple of the day ; and even in the ripe age of Queen Anne, although things brightened somewhat, and such adventurous personages as Robinson Crusoe, Captain Gulliver, and Martin Scriblerus, began to make their way in the world, yet they were few and *longo intervallo* ; while the ordinary bill of fare consisted of a poetical squib, or a periodical essay, served up with coffee and rolls, and disposed of in much the same time. In short, it is truly astonishing how our good ancestors, before the latter half

of the last century, contrived to dispose of the long evenings and dull rainy days, which doubtless were quite as frequent, and afflicted the hypochondriacs of that age as sorely, as those of ours.

We live to see a new order of things; '*ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*' Multitudes of wits of the first water, toil by day, and nightly 'outwatch the bear', to furnish dainties for our epicurean palates. In other words, the press daily, nay hourly, teems with works of fiction, of no contemptible quality; the dry precepts of morality are seasoned with the sallies of a lively wit; barren historical fact is adorned with the graceful coloring of taste and sentiment; the muse of history, indeed, has condescended to take this department of fiction under her especial care; characters, modes of thought, and habits of society, are depicted with singular fidelity; novels and romances, no longer unprofitable, become the pleasing vehicles of truth; and thus, in spite of the old adage, a royal road has been opened to much genuine and substantial knowledge.

A problem worth considering, but which our limits will barely allow us to hint at, is, why this species of elegant literature is so peculiarly suited to English genius, that it has never flourished to any extent among any other people. The nations of the continent, the Spaniards, Italians, and French, particularly the two former, so prolific in every variety of invention, have little to boast of in this way. The Spanish *picaresco* tales may indeed be reckoned in the same general class of fictions. They represent, with great uniformity, some young adventurer, born of nobody, lying and thieving his way through the world, pilfering larders, picking pockets, and playing off all sorts of jokes practical, upon such unfortunate personages as happen to fall in his way. The adventures of Scipio, in *Gil Blas*, a novel, by the by, infinitely superior to any thing which the Spaniards have in this line, are a good sample of this kind of writing. The invention of this humorous, but humble sort of romance, is due to a Castilian grandee, none of the meekest of his *caste* either; and the finest wits of Spain, among the rest Cervantes, have since repeatedly condescended to imitate it. Its value, however, cannot be rated very high; it can boast of little variety; the range of characters discussed, is extremely limited, and, for the most part, of the meanest sort; as if Castilian dignity was afraid of being compromised, by being brought into the farce. There is no great expense of wit required for

devising or describing the pranks of malicious roguery ; and it must be remembered, that the nearer the exhibitions of bawds, sharpers, and beggars approach the truth, the more vulgar and offensive they necessarily become. Don Quixote, in spite of the highly charged, chivalrous caricature, which forms the basis of it, contains more genuine effusions of taste and sentiment, with a wider and better delineated portraiture of life, both high and low, than is to be met with in any other Spanish romance, with which we are acquainted.

But the Italians, first, among the nations of Europe, naturalized the *Novelle* ; which may be regarded as the

‘ fonte
Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume ;’

as the spring from which have issued abundant streams of prosaic fiction in our own literature. ‘The Fiametta’, too, of Boccaccio is cited as the model of the modern amatory romance. But the resemblance will be found to be rather nominal than real. A novel, which makes its machinery out of heathen deities, can scarcely be reckoned in conformity with our notions. Besides, such long works of invention in prose have never been patronised by the Italians ; although it must be acknowledged, that one or two successful attempts, in this way, mostly imitations, have been made during the last century.

The brief *Novella* has ever been a prodigious favorite with the nation, and has been assiduously cultivated by them, since the days of Boccaccio. It may be generally described, as exhibiting short animated sketches of common life, intrigues and adventures not the most decorous, with abundance of *persiflage* on the priests, monks, &c. all introduced with bewitching *naïveté*, and varnished over with the richest coloring of the most beautiful of modern languages. This last quality is indispensable. These characteristics, of course, are not to be understood as equally applying to all. The Tales of Sacchetti, for instance, are little more than a farrago of drolleries, such as are to be found in a modern Encyclopedia of Wit. So that it is difficult to account for their pertinacious popularity, on any other principle, than that of the taste for gossip, which pervades, more or less, every class of the Italians. Now whatever be the merits of literary execution appertaining to these works, they must be reckoned, in an intellectual point of view, immeasurably below English fictions of the same class ; since they exhibit little of the careful dissection of character, of the inge-

nious perplexities of plot, that stimulate, yet perpetually disappoint the reader's curiosity ; of the gradual, yet full development of passion ; or of the brisk interchange of repartee, the mercurial and often highly intellectual conversation, which enrich the pages of the English novel.

Now, what is the cause of this superiority of the latter ? It is not certainly a want of fancy or creative power, in the people of the South. The Spanish drama, it is well known, has furnished plots and intrigues for half the theatres of Europe. And some of their writers have been proverbial miracles of invention. Still less can such deficiency be imputed to the Italians, as well may vouch their multitudinous and unrivalled creations of the epic muse.

We must look for it, first, in the condition of the nations who are the subject of these fictions, and secondly, in that of the authors themselves. The most ample materials for popular fiction will undoubtedly be found in a country whose political institutions allow an entire freedom of social intercourse, and consequently a perfect display of character ; where an equal security of personal and civil rights encourages, in every individual, the entire developement of his intellectual and moral energies, in the career best suited to his genius, of ambition or of wealth ; and where this entire freedom of selection and action in the commerce of life, has distributed society into a multitude of classes, each independent of the others, and set in distinct relief by its own peculiar habits of thought and occupation. It is these circumstances, which have prepared an inexhaustible variety of character and incident for the English novelist ; which have furnished the simple, unsophisticated pleasures of rustic life for Goldsmith ; the fearlessness, rough cordiality, and popular humor of the lower classes, for Fielding and Smollet ; the affectations, sentimental intrigue, and vapid fashionable chitchat of fine life, for Miss Burney ; the tender sympathies, vexations, and intrigues of domestic privacy, which go to make up the somewhat overgrown family pieces of Richardson ; and finally, which have furnished Scott with the rich variety of materials that he has crowded into his magnificent and motley panorama.

But whatever advantages may be presented to the novelist in the condition of the nation, they will be all ineffectual, if the free expression of his own sentiments be controlled by any other power than public opinion ; if an inquisitorial police,

whether in the shape of an academy or of a censorship, is to check the natural expansion of thought, of invention, of colloquial intercourse, which constitute the charm of this kind of writing. Yet in what other country, beside England and our own happy land, does this intellectual independence exist, even at this enlightened day?

If we apply our preceding remarks to the situation of Spain and Italy, we shall find obvious reason for their inferiority in domestic fiction. The former nation may be considered as divided into two great classes, of which the one, monopolizing wealth, power, and rank, is too much degraded by ignorance and superstition, to afford agreeable models for the study of the novelist; and the other, perhaps still more degraded by their political abasement, is even less fit for his purposes. We find none of those diversified ranks of citizens, who, as the middling class, constitute the bulk of most free communities, who, supported by successful enterprise, and by a just confidence in their own independence, display in all their strength the natural energies of their character. Even if there were some exceptions to all this, how could we expect that the writers in such a country would venture on a bold and popular expression of their sentiments; or that thought could freely expand under the baleful shade of the Inquisition?

In Italy, however, it is somewhat different. The courteous temper and gregarious habits of the people, their universal relish for elegant and even intellectual recreations, the multiplied monuments of art and grandeur, that must touch the most torpid sense, might seem to present the most agreeable illustrations for romance. And so they might, as far as imagination, or superficial accomplishments are concerned. But we must not expect to find Italy a suitable *studio* for a philosophical artist, who would exhibit the human character in its noblest and most imposing attitudes; as it is developed by that brisk concussion of ideas, that habitual independence of thought and action in the most important concerns of life, which are permitted only to the citizens of a free government. The Italians have been too long oppressed by foreign despotism, too long relaxed by corrupt and effeminate pleasures, to supply either models or masters for such a scientific analysis of the moral phenomena of our nature, as enters into the works of the highest English novelists. Apparently resigned to his condition, the modern Italian seems to derive sufficient satisfaction from the mere

sensation of repose ; and it may be doubted, in this torpidity of his faculties, whether he would consent to be disturbed by any more potent appeal, than an agreeable, though impotent sally of imagination. The harmonious organization of their language has also still further operated to the discouragement of long fictions in prose, with the Italians. Generally endowed with an exquisite sensibility to verbal melody, and desirous of combining, at the same time, as many *jouissances* as possible, they look upon verse as the only suitable vehicle of fancy ; as is sufficiently attested by the patience with which they resign themselves to their interminable epics in *ottava rima*.

In the general progress of knowledge and of the understanding, the French are as decidedly superior to the nations we have been considering, as in the mere province of the imagination they are inferior to them. And during the last century in particular, they have been confessedly no less distinguished for their proficiency in the higher branches of moral and metaphysical science, than their English neighbors. It might therefore be expected, that they would have carried somewhat of this spirit of philosophy into their fictitious compositions ; and that they would have made some effort to investigate in these the latent springs of human conduct. In this attempt they have partially succeeded, and their evident inferiority to the English on the whole, must be imputed to several causes, which we will enumerate.

On the regeneration of letters, it is singular, that the French should have been more eminent for originality of invention, than any other people of Europe. Their *fabliaux* and romances, their Trouveurs and Troubadours, were the delight and the study of other European nations, the models of Petrarch, Boccaccio, and of Chaucer. It would seem as if this precocity of talent in a barbarous age, like the unseasonable maturity of some vernal flower, had been the occasion of its premature decline. Certain it is, that no highly cultivated literature of modern Europe, betrays such a sterility of fancy as the French ; none which cannot, for example, exhibit a superior epic, the touchstone of poetical invention. Another impediment to the success of this lively people, in the department we are now criticising, is the result of the principles on which the intercourse between the sexes is regulated. In the higher circles of the community, an extreme reserve before marriage, and a licentious indulgence after it, are equally unfavorable to the

gradual expansion of pure and delicate passion, which forms the basis of many, not to say most of our best English romances.

A still greater impediment, is the oppressive influence which the conventional forms of good breeding, or of etiquette, have on the character of the people; obliterating, if we may so say, the moral physiognomy of the individual. So nearly assimilated to each other are all classes by this exterior polish, that without some ostensible distinction in dress, a foreigner would find it no easy matter to discriminate them. Now, whatever be the effect of all this on the civilization of the country, it may readily be conceived to be extremely unpropitious to the purposes of the novelist, whose models, in order to have any merit, must be formed on the naked lineaments of nature. Scarcely less prejudicial to the interests of the novel writer, are those narrow principles of criticism, which, in France, regulate all the productions of taste, and which must go far to extinguish the free, volatile spirit which should animate the creations of fancy. Indeed that very combination of terms, *rules and romance*, has something in it highly paradoxical. How many of the rough gems, which are so lavishly scattered over the works of Smollet, Fielding, and Scott, would be refused admittance into the fastidious cabinet of a French *précieux*! Humor is a quality, in which the French are singularly deficient. Rabelais' buffoonery, and Molière's high caricatures of the affectation and pretensions of Parisian society, are not examples of it; nor is it to be found in the light skirmish of wit, for which the French have a peculiar capacity; nor in the fine *piquant* raillery with which they frequently season (though it is somewhat out of place) their gravest compositions, as history, criticism, &c. That broad, good natured sarcasm, half shrewdness, half blunder, which makes us laugh nearly as much at the speaker, as at what he says or does, is a compound wholly English. Nothing shows more clearly the difference between the two nations, in this particular, than the vulgar caricatures which we see pasted up at shop windows. The English, with all the varieties of broad grin, and whimsical distress, the French, with the same invariable pasteboard physiognomy, polished curls, and costume *à la Parisienne*; so that without the friendly assistance of the label, we are at a loss to distinguish *Jean qui rit*, from *Jean qui pleure*.

But although the French have confined themselves to a more

circumscribed range of action, and have shown less depth of observation than their northern rivals in the field of romantic fiction; yet they have produced in it works of singular beauty. Their first attempts were, contrary to the national habit, conceived in the worst taste possible. The unwieldy romances of Calprenede, Scuderi, &c. had neither the graces of literary finish, nor the least resemblance to nature. But these were soon succeeded by a purer style of composition. Some of their greatest masters in science, as well as letters, have ventured upon this kind of writing; but as they have written with some exclusive philosophical aim, their personages, instead of being true to nature, are only ingenious pieces of mechanism, accommodated to the peculiar system of the author. Other writers of less notoriety have given a warmer coloring of reality to their pictures of life and manners; and among these, especially to be distinguished, certain female authors, whose finer perception of the *convenances* of society, has led them to a more chaste and temperate representation of it. The French romance, in its improved state, in which the salutary example of the English is undoubtedly to be traced, though deficient in any very powerful exhibition of character, is enriched with many beauties of taste and sentiment, and has the enviable merit of maintaining, to the last, a lively interest in the reader.

This talent for *characterization*, or, in other words, the power of calmly scrutinizing the workings of the human heart, and of accurately describing them, has distinguished the best British writers, from the times of the venerable Chaucer to our own. It is no exaggeration to say, that his *Canterbury Tales*, nay, his *Prologue* to them, contain more original and diversified views of character, than are to be found in all the similar productions of the contemporary Italian novelists. It is surprising, after this complete success, that the English should have altogether neglected a form of writing so favorable to the display of their peculiar genius. The age of Shakspeare, however, opened a new and brilliant career to dramatic talent; the circle of observation was widely extended; philosophy lent her aid to poetry, and a chart of human character, with all its unknown depths and windings, was laid down with an accuracy which we may look for in vain to any of the masters of antiquity. Succeeding periods were variously distinguished by philosophy, criticism, satire, and other kinds of preceptive writing, which discussed principles of art or of conduct, without much

attempt at invention or at an exhibition of life. In our own age, the spirit of creation has again revived ; the forms of the ancient drama, after some feeble efforts, have been abandoned ; from the despair of finding novelties in a path already so beaten ; or from a higher cultivation of the age, which invites the discussion of deeper matters than can be popularly exhibited in a play ; or perhaps from the improved condition of society, which, with its refined intrigue, its polished intellectual conversation, offers a most inviting field to the novelist. Thus the form of the ancient drama is abandoned, while its spirit is fully revived in the modern novels and romances.

This department of fiction has been a favorite with the English, the last half century ; and it now seems, equally whether we consider its philosophical spirit, or its execution as a work of art, to have reached as high a point of perfection as it can reasonably be expected to attain. In this improved state, it has been purified from most of those frequent violations of taste and morals, which formerly disfigured it ; from the licentiousness of Fielding and Smollet, the sentimentality of Burney and Radcliffe, and the painful elaboration of Richardson. It is now characterized by a pure and manly tone of sentiment, by a familiar acquaintance with the world, by an extensive erudition, and by no ordinary beauties of eloquence. Scott must of course be considered to have been the most efficient agent in producing this revolution ; and from this circumstance he may, like Shakspeare, be taken for the representative of his age. Like him, he has embraced, within his comprehensive glance, every variety of rank, profession, and party ; the principal object of both seems to have been the development of character, without any concern for the disposition of incident, except as far as, by affording new points of view, it may be made subservient to the main purpose. Hence probabilities are frequently violated, and the legitimate limits of the play or novel having been attained, the narration is brought up by a sort of apoplectic termination of the whole *dramatis personæ*. Witness the historical plays of the one, and the novels of the other, *passim*. Another deficiency, peculiar to both these writers, is that of any avowed or implied moral purpose, in most of their fictions. They content themselves with imitating the ordinary course of events in real life ; with scarcely any more equity, than is observed here, in the ultimate distribution of rewards and punishments. Take, for obvious

examples, the *dénouement* of Hamlet, or King Lear, of the Bride of Lammermoor, or St Ronan's Well,—where the same dreadful catastrophe overwhelms alike the innocent and the guilty. Perhaps, however, the influence of their writings has not been less salutary on this account. An exhibition of the misery, the mental disquietude inseparable from guilt, may be sufficiently impressive. A moral, on the other hand, sturdily inculcated or illustrated in every page, as is the case with Miss Edgeworth, or which in any degree diverts the current of events from their natural course, occasions a violence to probability, revolting both to the taste and conviction of the reader. Both seem to have possessed the remarkable faculty of abstracting themselves from self, if we may so say. Each one of their dramatic entities seems to possess a sort of conscious individuality, as in real life, and the whole of the complicated mechanism moves on, without ever betraying the invisible hand of the master. If anywhere the spirit of the author breaks forth, it is in a goodhumored philosophy, which smiles at the vanities of life, which regards the world as a farce, and the men and women in it as players.

Scott, like his great predecessor, has called in the preternatural, not for vulgar purposes of poetical interest only, but for the illustration of popular superstition, and like him, he has made fiction the vehicle of historic truth; the form of his work has obviously given him greater scope for the exposition of his national antiquities; and the superior opulence of his literary acquirements has enabled him to enrich his compositions with a much greater variety of information.

Both are profound in the knowledge of men, but Shakspeare seems to have been endowed with a finer perception of the character of women; at least he has far surpassed his rival in the exhibition of tender and romantic passion. In everything relating to the sex, indeed, he is a warmer colorist than Scott. We will pursue the parallel no farther, and only remark in conclusion, that as the one is the greatest poetic, so the other is the greatest prose dramatist of any age or country; an eulogium which will not appear unmerited, if we consider the essence of the drama to consist in developement of character.

The influence of Scott, during the short period of his literary existence, on the taste of his countrymen, is truly surprising. He has given a healthful character to fiction, elevating it above the dull heroics and stale sentiment which deluged our circu-

lating libraries, and teaching the artist by his own example, that the only study worthy of him, is man.

‘Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque
Invenies : hominem nostra pagina sapit.’

A plentiful crop of imitations has ensued ; many of them of singular beauty ; and sketches of life have been drawn with great truth and vivacity, from the simple ‘Annals of the Parish’ up to the fashion and foppery of ‘Almack’s.’ The impulse has been rapidly communicated to our side of the water. And although the Coryphæus of our native novelists, is wanting in that familiarity with polite life, and in that degree of literary cultivation, which is indispensable in order to give a high finish to works of invention, yet he has with great effect embodied many original conceptions of character and circumstance peculiar to the New World, the more valuable, as the state of things which produced them, is itself rapidly passing away. It may be doubted, however, whether these attempts are not somewhat premature ; whether our country be yet ripe for the purposes of the novelist. The dawn of letters, among every people, has opened with the creations of fancy ; and it is not till after a long interval, that the age of invention is succeeded by one of philosophy and reason. But the position of our own country is materially different ; engrafted on a healthy parent stock, it may hope to produce these mature fruits at a much earlier period. Indeed, the ordinary state of things is entirely reversed with us. We are a young nation, with an old and highly finished literature ; we are oppressed by the very wealth of our inheritance. Every province of the imagination has been preoccupied by a minute and laborious cultivation ; and when we reflect, how rarely from some cause or other the same department has been cultivated with success a second time, we may have some reason for distrusting our immediate achievements in this way. To the progress of knowledge, however, there is no such limit. Science has this advantage over the arts, that from its very nature, the more it is attended to, the more it will be advanced ; every new step must be upward, elevating us to a higher point of view, and opening to us a more unbounded prospect. Science, therefore, practical science, as applied to the improvement of government, and to social happiness, would seem to be the first natural object of attention to our countrymen, and in fact has been so. There is, however, a subdued effort of the imagination, which com-

bined with wit, a knowledge of life, and a high degree of literary finish, forms an agreeable substitute for those bolder flights of invention, that usually distinguish the early period of intellectual culture. Such is novel writing. But such compositions, it is obvious from the constitution of their elements, can only be the product of a highly polished and mature state of society.

The expense of talent, which of late years has been lavished on works of fiction, is matter of regret with some, who regard it as so much diverted from the service of truth and genuine knowledge. Such is not our view of it; and we cannot help thinking, that novels, as they are now conducted, might admit of some very plausible arguments in their favor, even on the ground of the *cui bono*, as compared with history. The moral and social organization of a people, is certainly not less interesting to the philosophical student, than the deeds of violence and intrigue, which chequer the page of history. The poems of Homer have done more to acquaint us with the domestic constitution of the Greeks, than all their histories put together; and where are future generations to obtain so clear a conception of the peculiarities of Scottish character as from the Waverley novels? What a flood of light would one such fiction as *Old Mortality* throw on the dark features of Roman story, even where it is most illuminated by the prolix pen of Livy, or the brief but effectual touches of Tacitus? History has to do with the outward appearances of things; with actors in masquerade. How often may even an eyewitness be deceived! De Retz has somewhere remarked on the impertinence of writers, 'who in the seclusion of their closets, pretend to suggest the motives of conduct, which he, who was the focus of intrigue, was altogether unable to explain.' On the other hand, fiction has no concern with actions of individuals, but with passions in the abstract, with the moral constitution of man, a subject, from obvious reasons, much less liable to misconception. In a word, history represents events as they are, and men as they appear; while fiction represents events as they appear probable, and men as they are. 'The only difference between me and professed historians,' says the lively Fielding, 'is, that with me everything is true, save the names and the dates, while with them nothing is true but names and dates.' If we glance our eye but lightly over the pages of history, with how many inaccuracies, discrepancies, and monstrous lies, do we find it dis-

figured ! The venerable Asiatic dynasties ; the ‘ tale of Troy divine,’ nay, her very existence, as well as that of her immortal bard ; the heroic and even later ages,

‘ et quidquid Græcia mendax

Audet in historiâ ;’

the four first centuries of royal and republican Rome, so dear to our youthful fancies, from the glorious images of virtue, self-devoted heroism, and generous love of freedom which they present, and which furnished the basis of the fine political fabrics of Machiavelli and Montesquieu ; all crumble into dust under the rude touch of modern criticism. Even the actors of a riper period ; Dionysius the tyrant, the perfidious Philip of Macedon, are now regenerated as patriot princes ; Sylla the scourge, becomes the saviour of his country ; Pompey, the friend of liberty, and Cæsar, its enemy, exchange characters with each other ; and Julian, the scoffer and apostate, shines forth the benevolent and enlightened philosopher. In later ages, the *odium theologicum* has multiplied the sources of historical obliquity ; and the art of printing rapidly scatters to all quarters the inextinguishable seeds of error. Take only one or two familiar examples in our own tongue ; compare Roscoe’s elaborate biographies of Lorenzo and Leo de’ Medici, the disinterested patrons of art, the intrepid statesmen, the friends of virtue and temperate liberty, with the same personages in Sismondi’s Italian History, the selfish sensualists, the cowardly, cunning, and systematic oppressors of their country. Or what may be more familiar still, compare the first volumes of Hume with Lingard, and the last with Brodie, and if it be possible, extract truth from error. But what need of other examples, in an age which has seen Cataline and Borgia deliberately vindicated, and Cromwell and Richard the Third as deliberately eulogized, by writers of undeniable talent. No sooner do we build our conclusions than they are swept away by a new current of facts and inferences into an entirely opposite direction. ‘ Oh ! talk to me not of history,’ said Sir Robert Walpole to his son Horace, ‘ for that I know to be false.’

We say nothing of the popular influence of the novel, as a production of literary art ; since although, from the nature of its construction, far superior in this respect to history, yet it does not essentially differ from that of the general class of ornamental writing to which it belongs. We cannot say that the

historical propensities of our ingenious countryman Irving, and of Sir Walter Scott, as lately developed, fill us with any uncommon satisfaction ; and we cannot help thinking how many merry faces and happy winter evenings are like to be spoiled by this sad sacrifice of romance to reality. Many may doubtless be found to pile up solid facts as well as they ; but who like them can weave the ' brittle toils of fancy ? ' But we are rambling into an unconscionable length of episode, and will conclude with the pious invocation of the poet of romance ;

' Magnanima menzogna, or quando è il vero

Si bello che si possa a te preporre !'

We have insensibly indulged in such an amplitude of preliminary remark, that we have very scanty limits left for criticism on the works before us. One of these, ' Almack's,' is fortunately so stale with most of our readers, as to justify only one or two words respecting it. It is one of that multitudinous growth of fictions which have arisen out of the new impulse given to authorship by the author of *Waverley*. It is, as every one knows, a spirited sketch of fashionable life ; of that class of personages in England, who born with a prescriptive right to rank, wealth, and *ton*, constitute the froth and syllabub of society. We have first, a familiar picture of rural life, in the family of a worthy country squire, much improved since the days of *Squire Western* ; one, indeed, who talks French, and reads the *Quarterly*. Thence we are transported to the neighboring residence of a British peer, with rather a miscellaneous party of ' natives ' and fashionables. The most amusing part of the book, in our opinion, is taken up with the various expedients by which this wellbred community contrive to kill the common enemy ; and brings to our recollection the distress of those unfortunate passengers in one of our belated packets, who, kept together in the sweet bond of union considerably longer than they had anticipated, are scarcely able to disguise, under a thin varnish of decorum, their chagrin and mutual antipathy for each other. For all such constraint, however, they amply indemnify themselves by the liberties which they take with one another behind their backs. The host sacrifices his guests, these in turn, their host ; and both unite in offering up daily hecatombs of departed characters ; ' at every word a reputation dies.' From the country we follow this merry party up to town, where the same wayward goddess,

‘Spleen,
Who rules the sex from fifty to fifteen,’

urges them through a giddy circle of dinners, routs, operas, and Almack's. The point of view here offered to the reader, is the perpetual hostility carried on between time and *ton*, as to which shall kill the other. Fashion presides over the whole scene with necromantic sway; rank, wealth, beauty, sink alike before her. In every society those qualities will be most prized, which are best adapted to its peculiar spirit; talent, therefore, in the House of Commons, and *ton* at Almack's. On the whole, the view of things exhibited in this work must be exceedingly consolatory to that numerous class of personages in England, who have had the misfortune to be born without a title and ten thousand a year. The novel is conducted on the same general principles that we described as the basis of modern fiction. Incidents are of very little account, or only so, as far as they afford favorable points of view for the exhibition of character. How different this from the good oldfashioned romances of Miss Burney; where a long train of intrigue is cautiously prepared through half a dozen volumes, and a person can hardly get up or sit down, without the bustling aid of machinery. The story here is absolutely nothing; a mere thread, to string together showy conversations and characters. The dialogue is kept up with a good deal of vivacity, and without any unreasonable exaggeration; indeed much of it is not above the ordinary level of fashionable gossip. There is a certain liveliness of repartee in it, sharpened with a little malice; a decided inclination visible in the author for this sort of skirmishing; a deep knowledge of millinery, mantuamaking, and other mysteries of feminine craft; joined moreover with a certain tact for society, peculiar to the sex, which leave little doubt in our mind, that 'Almack's' was written by a woman; one too, who, with spirit enough to laugh at the heartless insipidities of fashion, has not quite lost her original relish for them.

The general style of the work is pretty equable, seldom rising above a certain *level*; the poverty of incident being unfavorable to passages of excitement and deep interest. The whole is plentifully bespattered with French phrases; a foolish affectation of the author, which, however excusable in the mouths of the *dramatis personæ*, as taken from real life, should never have been admitted into the body of the narrative. If

people of fashion in England, continue to cultivate, with their present assiduity, this *patois* of broken English and bad French, they will have occasion again for the old laws of the Plantagenets, prescribing the use of the vernacular.

The First Part of Vivian Grey appeared during the last summer. As well as we recollect its contents, which we have not looked into since, it sets forth the adventures of a youth of genius, a sort of *homme universel*, who, contrary to the old adage, is good at everything he takes in hand. At school he is the terror and torment of his master ; but soon after, indeed before he is out of his teens, we find him settled down in the calm of 'divine philosophy,' highly Platonic, and not a little pedantic. His father's ridicule, and his own riper judgment, soon drive away these lazy dreams of boyhood ; and he next shines forth, a practical man of business, a politician of the Machiavellian school, full of intrigues for oversetting one cabinet of ministers, and for setting up another. In the meanwhile he figures as the man of *ton* ; flirts with the fair sex ; ingratiates himself into the confidence of my lord and lady, by furnishing one with a receipt for 'tomahawk punch,' and the other with a recipe for a sick poodle, till at length the whole concludes with a grand blow up of projects and personages, one of whom, his dearest friend too, Mr Vivian Grey, after having previously ruined, coolly shoots through the heart, and so the curtain drops.

The probability of the story cannot be very strongly contended for. Indeed one chief source of amusement is derived from the extreme composure with which the most barefaced '*mendacia poëtæ*' are related. In short the book is a mere quiz from one end to the other, a sort of portfolio of caricatures of people of fashion, designed with infinite spirit, though somewhat overcolored. Vivian Grey affords one of the best portraits ; that of an agreeable, accomplished young rascal, who calmly cuts his way through every obstacle to his own schemes, and who seems to make up, by an extra fund of generosity and spirit, qualities so agreeable in a hero, for the deficiency of every other principle.

The Second Part introduces us into Germany, where Vivian Grey, after a year's interval, is endeavoring to forget his disappointed schemes of ambition in the dissipation of a fashionable watering place. But he is no longer the same man, as in his days of hope and young ambition. Instead of the buoyant wit, who was wont to set the table in a roar, he subsides

into a commonplace sort of personage, very gentlemanlike, and somewhat sentimental. If his misfortunes have made him wiser, they have also made him a much sadder hero for romance than before. Here he gets deeply engaged in play, though somewhat against his inclination; and his happy star carries him triumphantly over all the chances of *rouge et noir*. All this leads to an interview with a couple of diplomatic black legs, whose knavery he exposes in a scene, executed in the very best style of our author. In the mean time Mr Grey falls deeply in love with an elderly English lady or her niece, for it is long uncertain which, until after a pretty assiduous courtship, he naturally discovers, that his passion for the former is only a respectable sort of admiration. This incipient attachment is unfortunately nipped in the bud, before it has full time to disclose itself. The adventure, though somewhat abrupt, is told with much eloquence and pathos, and we will cite it as a good specimen of our author's powers in this way.

‘The sun had already sunk behind the mountains, whose undulating forms were thrown into dark shadow against the crimson sky. The thin crescent of the new moon floated over the eastern hills, whose deep woods glowed with the rosy glories of twilight. Over the peak of a purple mountain, glittered the solitary star of evening. As the sun dropped, universal silence seemed to pervade the whole face of nature. The voice of the birds was stilled; the breeze, which had refreshed them during the day, died away, as if its office were now completed; and none of the dark sounds and sights of hideous night yet dared to triumph over the death of day. Unseen were the circling wings of the fell bat; unheard the screech of the waking owl; silent the drowsy hum of the shardborn beetle! What heart has not acknowledged the influence of this hour—the sweet and soothing hour of twilight!—the hour of love, the hour of adoration, the hour of rest!—when we think of those we love, only to regret that we have not loved more dearly; when we remember our enemies only to forgive them!

‘And Vivian and his beautiful companion owned the magic of this hour, as all must do—by silence. No word was spoken, yet is silence sometimes a language. They gazed, and gazed again, and their full spirits held due communion with the starlit sky, and the mountains, and the woods, and the soft shadows of the increasing moon. Oh! who can describe what the o’ercharged spirit feels at this sacred hour, when we almost lose the consciousness of existence, and our souls seem to struggle to pierce futurity! In the forest of the mysterious Odenwald, in the soli-

tudes of the Bergstrasse, had Vivian at this hour often found consolation for a bruised spirit—often in adoring Nature had forgotten man. But now, when he had never felt Nature's influence more powerful; when he had never forgotten man, and man's world more thoroughly; when he was experiencing emotions, which, though undefinable, he felt to be new; he started when he remembered that all this was in the presence of a human being! Was it Hesperus he gazed upon, or something else that glanced brighter than an evening star? Even as he thought that his gaze was fixed on the countenance of Nature, he found that his eyes rested on the face of Nature's loveliest daughter!

“Violet! dearest Violet!”

‘As in some delicious dream, the sleeper is awakened from his bliss by the sound of his own rapturous voice; so was Vivian roused by these words from his reverie, and called back to the world which he had forgotten. But ere a moment had passed, he was pouring forth, in a rapid voice and incoherent manner, such words as men speak only once. He spoke of his early follies, his misfortunes, his misery; of his matured views, his settled principles, his plans, his prospects, his hopes, his happiness, his bliss; and when he had ceased, he listened, in his turn, to some small, still words, which made him the happiest of human beings. He bent down—he kissed the soft silken cheek which now he could call his own. Her hand was in his; her head sank upon his breast. Suddenly she clung to him with a strong grasp. “Violet!” my own, my dearest; you are overcome. I have been rash, I have been imprudent. Speak, speak, my beloved! say you are not ill.’

‘She spoke not, but clung to him with a fearful strength—her head still upon his breast, her full eyes closed. In the greatest alarm, he raised her off the ground, and bore her to the river side. Water might revive her. But when he tried to lay her a moment on the bank, she clung to him gasping, as a sinking person clings to a stout swimmer. He leant over her; he did not attempt to disengage his arms; and, by degrees, by very slow degrees, her grasp loosened. At last her arms gave way and fell by her side, and her eyes partly opened.

“Thank God! thank God! Violet, my own, my beloved, say you are better!”

‘She answered not—evidently she did not know him—evidently she did not see him. A film was on her sight, and her eye was glassy. He rushed to the waterside, and in a moment he had sprinkled her temples, now covered with a cold dew. Her pulse beat not; her circulation seemed suspended. He rubbed the palms of her hands; he covered her delicate feet with his coat; and then rushing up the bank into the road, he shouted with frantic cries on all sides. No one came; no one was near.

Again, with a cry of fearful anguish, he shouted as if a hyæna were feeding on his vitals. No sound :—no answer. The nearest cottage he remembered was above a mile off. He dared not leave her. Again he rushed down to the waterside. Her eyes were still open, still fixed. Her mouth also was no longer closed. Her hand was stiff—her heart had ceased to beat. He tried with the warmth of his own body to revive her. He shouted, he wept, he prayed. All, all in vain. Again he was in the road ; again shouting like an insane being. There was a sound. Hark !—It was but the screech of an owl !

‘ Once more at the riverside—once more bending over her with starting eyes—once more the attentive ear listening for the soundless breath. No sound ! not even a sigh ! Oh ! what would he have given for her shriek of anguish ! No change had occurred in her position, but the lower part of her face had fallen ; and there was a general appearance which struck him with awe. Her body was quite cold ; her limbs stiffened. He gazed, and gazed. He bent over her with stupor, rather than grief, stamped on his features. It was very slowly that the dark thought came over his mind—very slowly that the horrible truth seized upon his soul. He gave a loud shriek, and fell on the lifeless body of VIOLET FANE ! ’ pp. 160, 163.

We next find our hero, after a reasonable hiatus of some months, travelling in the forests of Southern Germany, accompanied by a facetious valet, made up of wit, mountebank, and bore ; the last predominant, and evidently a studied imitation of Shakspeare’s quaint old-fashioned clowns. Our travellers soon fall in with a party of jolly epicures, who are celebrating the glories of old Hock, in a tremendous drinking bout, that would do honor to the adventures of Baron Munchausen. Thence our hero proceeds to the court of a petty German prince, whose life he had accidentally saved at a boar hunt ; he becomes his confidential counsellor, accompanies him to a clandestine interview with the prime minister of a neighboring state, whose extraordinary humors furnish matter for three or four very comical chapters, much too long for insertion here. Thence he passes to the court of another grandee, and falls desperately in love with a fair *incognita*, proud, peevish, and ignorant, but uncommonly beautiful. This amour turns out quite as unfortunate as the preceding. The lady proves to be no less a personage, than the archduchess of Austria ; and, of course, notwithstanding a reciprocity of attachment, is far above the reach of our young plebeian. Upon this second disappointment, he again betakes himself to his knighterrantry, and

after a variety of small adventures, falls in with a tremendous hurricane, thunderstorm, and deluge, in the course of which a great lake is converted into a cataract, and the upper half of a mountain slides down on the heads of an unoffending village, just before the nose of our hero, who swoons away with excess of terror, and in this predicament is left at the end of the Second Part. Such is the fantastic conclusion of this most fantastical performance.

Through the whole of the work, the author's spirit moves very unequally ; sometimes taking a brave poetical flight, and sometimes flagging and floundering most heavily. Unlike 'Almack's,' it abounds in scenes of deep interest and high picturesque beauty, to arrive at which we are obliged to wade through long prosy pages of mere barrenness. On the whole, this Second Part is inferior to the first ; it is deficient in keeping, both as regards the hero, who, as we have before hinted, seems to have parted with his personal identity, and as regards the narrative, which is made up of a motley mixture of romance and reality, of rapid transition from the humdrum business of every day, to the most barefaced absurdities of Fairy land. We would not be understood as objecting to the *marvellous* ; but it should be introduced in its proper place, and made out of proper materials, of the airy stuff that 'dreams are made of,' not out of the coarse homespun of common life. The precept is as stale as Horace.

'Vivian Grey' is an obvious imitation of Byron's 'Don Juan.' It exhibits the same whimsical contrasts of sneer and sentiment, of deep passion and broad farce, of generous enthusiasm and chill misanthropy, of fashionable slang and prosy pedantry ; the same elegant wit, picturesque description, &c. with that eccentric production. To its credit, it has none of the licentiousness which taints Lord Byron's epic, but in common with 'Almack's,' 'Granby,' and some other recent novels, it seeks to heighten the interest by incentives not much more commendable ; we mean the piquant personalities with which all these works abound. The English complain that we Americans are a thinskinmed, irritable generation ; we hope it will be long before we can bear, without wincing, to have the veil of domestic privacy thus rudely torn asunder. Its influence—but in compassion to our readers, we will not broach a new argument at the close of an article, already too long protracted.

ART. X.—*New England's Memorial*, by NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Fifth Edition. *Containing, besides the original Work, and the Supplement annexed to the Second Edition, large Additions in Marginal Notes, and an Appendix, with a Lithographic Copy of an Ancient Map*, by JOHN DAVIS, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 1826.

It has full often already been said and sung, that we of this country are singularly fortunate in having our whole national rise and progress lie within the limit of recorded time. The poetically inclined among us are, no doubt, losers by this circumstance. They are best served by the opportunity to give shape and local habitation to the manageable phantoms of a heroic age. But historical records furnish fitter food for the philosophical hobby of the present day; and the curious and idle, always a class worthy of consideration, and never more so than now, welcome a like provision for their studies. What would be the price of a copy of Cadmus' journal of his descent upon the 'land of lost gods and godlike men,' if it had pleased him thus to make trial of his newly imported machinery of letters. With what rejoicings would this world of virtuosi 'ring from side to side,' if we should dig up the inscription *locating* the two acres of land, which, says Pliny, Romulus assigned to each primeval citizen; that is, if ever there lived such a personage as Romulus, a thing which we are far from being so hardy as to affirm. And with what a birth of gorgeous quartos would the foreign press labor, if some hitherto undecyphered parchment should be found to exhibit Hengist's first muster roll after his debarkation on British soil.

The founders of our polity enjoyed more facilities for an exact, if not for a splendid transmission of their fame, than did those ancient worthies. When they were disposed to communicate with posterity, it was not needful for menial scribes to be summoned, nor hard rock to be polished, nor tough vellum to be dressed. Ink and paper were cheap commodities, and according to their cheapness, in almost as free use as now. Besides the natural feelings and the occasions of business, which led them to maintain voluminous intercourse with their friends

at home, our fathers brought with them that itch for writing, which had spread by such a wide contagion in the parent country, at a time when a large portion of the people had begun to set up for their own priests, and were beginning to imbibe the disposition to become also their own rulers. In consequence of this, writings of our leading men in every period of our history are extant, either in print or in autograph, in such abundance, that whosoever, properly qualified by habits of observation and industry, will set himself to the task of investigating the events and the condition of any given time, may acquire much the same familiarity with his predecessors that he has with his neighbors. Due care has been and is taken of these precious documents. The twenty volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society, contain a fund of materials for the annalist of New England, altogether unrivalled in any similar collection: and for the more adventurous explorer, there are mines of antique wealth in the library of that society, and of the Boston Athenæum, and in the Ebeling collection now added by a distinguished individual's munificence to the before rich stores of this kind at Cambridge.

As we hinted, the poetical glory, which if we were more ignorant, would surround the image of our founders in our minds, is thus shorn of not a few of its beams. They are altogether despoiled of those qualities of heroism, which, if the testimony may be credited of such as have been familiar with heroes, fade away under the observation of their *valets de chambre*. As far as we have gathered our notions of greatness from true, so called, or fictitious histories, in verse or prose, the minute accounts which we have of these good men, from themselves and their contemporaries,—of their occupations, measures, and motives, their scanty means, material wants, and homely expedients for supplying them, are apt to give us a pretty thorough lesson in the doctrine of *nil admirari*. But what we lose in the poetical interest, we gain in the accuracy and reality of our acquaintance with them; and this to some minds will be held for more than a compensation. Besides, their circumstantial history opens new lights to the philosophical observer of human nature, as it has been developed in different ages and circumstances. It is a new help towards dispelling that delusion, by which the arts of poetry would lead us to invest those who have been concerned with great events, in attributes distinguishing them widely from the nameless remain-

der of the race. It satisfies more completely of that truth, which of all painters of heroic fiction, only Shakspeare and Scott have ventured to let their readers see, that in most respects of character, of mental experience, nay, of essential fortune, individuals great by office and achievements bear a strong resemblance to common men. It vindicates the identity of human character, and so furnishes a commentary on those exaggerated portraits of it, in one aspect, which have come down from worse informed times. Undoubtedly we owe as much to the settlers at Salem and Plymouth, as Greece and Rome professed to owe to their fabulous dynasties of kings, and should be ready and prone to make as much, if we knew as little, of them. There is small hazard in the conjecture, that Winthrop and Bradford were in all respects quite as praiseworthy persons as Theseus or Numa, but a hard fate has exiled them from that region of the *unknown*, which, according to the proverb, is always the favourite sphere of the *magnificent*. In the shallop built by the carpenter, whom the provident Plymouth company transmitted with the minister and the salt man, there were coasting voyages made which might well have furnished the hint of another Argonautic expedition, if less had but been left on record concerning their purposes and prosecution. Captain Standish, if he ever heard of Hector's rapid movement before his enemy round the walls of Troy, we have no doubt disdained comparison with that hero, and held that his bold expedition against the aborigines of the Bay was a theme much more worthy, than the defence of the key of Asia, to be 'wedded to immortal verse'; but his friends, when they wrote down the number of the host that followed the Plymouth 'king of men,' foreclosed his hopes of ever figuring in epic song.

The last year was a memorable year to the antiquaries, witnessing, as it did, the publication of elaborate editions of the two principal documents relating to the earliest period of New England. In our number for January, we called our readers' attention to the very learned edition of Winthrop's Journal, by Mr Savage, embracing for the first time that part of the work which records the occurrences between September, 1644, and January, 1649; an inestimable fragment, which, having been preserved by extraordinary good fortune, was discovered eleven years ago in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston. To this work Morton's Memorial is properly a *pendant*, narrating the establishment and early fortunes of the colony of New Plymouth,

as the *Journal* does of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. They are the most valuable remains in their respective departments.

The Memorial was first published in 1669, in the lifetime of its author, Nathaniel Morton, who, three years after the settlement at Plymouth, being then eleven years old, came thither from his native town in the north of England, with his father and mother, who was a sister of Governor Bradford. He was admitted a freeman in 1635, and ten years after was elected Clerk, or Secretary of the Colony Court, which office he continued to hold forty years, till the time of his death. His work was printed at Cambridge, in a small quarto volume, the colony of Plymouth defraying part of the charge. A second edition appeared at Boston, in 1721, with a Supplement by Josiah Cotton, Register of Deeds for the county of Plymouth. Of this edition, two reprints, have been made, namely, in 1772, at Newport, and within the past year at Plymouth.

The circumstance of the undertaking of Secretary Morton being patronised by the public treasury, corroborates the inference which it would be safe to draw from his standing in the infant colony. Higginson and Thatcher, ministers of Boston and Salem, bear their testimony in an advertisement, that 'this present narrative is a useful piece; the author is an approved godly man,—and the work itself is compiled with modesty of spirit, simplicity of style, and truth of matter;' adding their 'hope that the labor of this good man will find a general acceptance among the people of God, and also be a means to provoke some or other in the rest of the colonies, who have had knowledge of things from the beginning, to contribute their observations and memorials also, by which means there may be matter for a just history of New England in the Lord's good time; in the mean time, this may stand for a monument, and be deservedly acknowledged as an Ebenezer, that hitherto the Lord hath helped us.' In a premonition 'to the Christian reader,' the author announces 'the main ends of publishing this small history' to be, 'that God may have his due praise; his servants, the instruments, have their names embalmed, and the present and future ages may have the fruit and benefit of God's great work in the relation of the first planting of New England.' Its method he describes as 'in some measure answerable to the ends aforementioned, in inserting some acknowledgment of God's goodness, faithfulness, and truth, upon special occasions, with allusions to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some

special instruments of such main and special particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of commendation in them, and especially in a faithful commemorizing and declaration of God's wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them by driving out the heathen before them.' 'For the earliest events,' he says, in a dedication to Governor Prince, 'the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honored uncle, Mr William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study from the year 1620 unto 1646.' 'Certain diurnals of the honored Mr Edward Winslow have also afforded me good light and help, and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more solicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge), than I have studied quaintness in expression.'

The work, in fact, claims no lower a rank than that of a formal history of Plymouth Colony, and in some sense of the other four colonies of New England, from the first plantation in 1620 to the close of 1668. Some chapters are prefixed presenting a rapid sketch of the emigration to the Netherlands, in 1602, of the negotiations with the Virginia Company, and of the hardships and perils of the voyage, and the first settlement. From March 1621, events are recorded under the respective years of their occurrence. The record is sometimes very scanty, relating little more than some unimportant casualty, or the arrival or death of some useful individual; and in a few instances, such as under 1640, 1641, 1648, and 1654, containing only the names of the magistrates for the year. Generally, however, it is full, and not seldom minute. Private anecdotes, letters, good sayings, biographical notices and other *memorabilia* of various kinds are interspersed, with tributes in prose and verse, elegies, epitaphs, anagrams, and acrostics, in honor of distinguished citizens deceased. It must be owned, indeed, that the narrative, though always sincere, and sometimes lively, is often framed upon trivial events, and drawn out to a tedious length. Undoubtedly it compares ill in these respects with some remains, which on the other hand cover little ground in comparison with it. But if we will observe the difference between that portion of Hubbard's History, in relation to which he had this work to follow, or rather to transcribe, and that

subsequent barren portion, in whose compilation he had not the same advantage, we shall be prepared to estimate the value of the Memorial.* It is altogether the richest treasury existing of facts belonging to the period of which it treats.

But criticism of this work has been barred for some generations, by the literary common law of limitation. By the lapse of time, carrying many of the events to which it refers into forgetfulness, and the names which it recites into disuse, it had come to stand in need of illustrations which no man was better able than Judge Davis to afford; and the fruit of his labors to that end is now as gratefully received as it has been impatiently expected. The *antique wood* is no longer difficult to thread. His culture has made it rejoice and blossom;

‘Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.’

Judge Davis follows the text of the original edition, restoring, in some instances, readings which had been corrupted in the copies, and distinguishing the original comments, many of which were probably written by Governor Bradford. He adds the Supplement of the second edition, from the pen of Josiah Cotton, sometime Register of Probate and of Deeds for the county of Plymouth; a document, however, of very little value, compressing into four pages, the events of twenty-three eventful years, in which, among other things, were consummated the war with King Philip, the English revolution, and the union of the Old Colony with Massachusetts. The matter now first given in this connexion, to the public, is digested into marginal notes, and an appendix which occupies more than a quarter of the volume. How valuable it is, may be partly supposed from an enumeration of the sources whence light is concentrated in this focus. A part of the printed authorities referred to are, the histories of Robertson, Hutchinson, Neal, Trumbull, and Winthrop; the biographical notices of Belknap, Allen, and Eliot; the collections of Hazard, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Holmes's Annals, Prince's Chronology, Johnson's Wonderworking Providence, Hubbard's Indian Wars, Mather's Magnalia, Purchas's Pilgrims, Mourt's Journal, Winslow's Good Newes from New England, Smith's New England's Trials, Morton's New English Canaan, and Rog-

* For an estimate of the character of Hubbard's History, and the result of a critical collation of it with those of Morton and Winthrop, we refer to Mr Savage's edition of Winthrop's History, vol. I. p. 296. Note.

er. Williams's Key. Among the sources of the manuscript evidence, are the records of the Old Colony, and of the first church in Plymouth, and two compilations by Samuel Davis, Esq. of Plymouth, designated by the titles of *Ancient Vestiges* and *Historical Extracts*. The venerable semblance of the lost seal of the Old Colony, is preserved in a copy made from the book of laws, which was published in 1685. A *fac simile* is annexed of the signatures of Governors Bradford, Edward Winslow, and Prince, Elder Brewster, Captain Standish, and Secretary Morton; and a lithographic copy of a map, published in 1677, 'being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best pattern that could be had,' serves, as Judge Davis well remarks, when compared with the beautiful delineation of the same territory lately furnished by Mr. Hale, as an encouraging specimen of the progress of the arts among the pilgrim race.

The editor's principal dependence for his illustrations, down to the autumn of 1623, is on the works cited by the titles *Mourt's Journal*, and *Winslow's Good Newes from New England*. As he does not give an account of these highly interesting remains, some of our readers may be inclined, for want of better, to have one from us.

Edward Winslow, who came out in the first ship, passed the winter of 1623-24 in England, and there published his 'Good Newes, or a True Relation of things very remarkable,' occurring between January 1622, and the second following September. The authorship of Mourt's Relation which, with the exception of three months, in the early part of 1621, fills the chasm between the sailing from England and this period, is unappropriated. There was no person of that name among the early settlers. In 1802, an abridgment of both tracts, contained in a very scarce volume of Purchas, was given to the public by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the originals not being then known to be in existence. In 1819, by the aid of Mr. Duponceau, a complete copy of Mourt was obtained from the city library of Philadelphia. The Ebeling library has since done the same service for Winslow, and from these the *παράλειπόμενα* of the first edition of both works were supplied in Vol. IX. 2d Series, of the Society's Collections. The annotator upon the first promulgated fragments of the *Journal*, was of opinion, that Mourt was its printer or publisher, and that it might, with much probability, be ascribed to Winslow, but for a somewhat

different spelling of the Indian names. In an introductory epistle to the reader, brought to light in the entire work, and signed G. Mourt, he says, 'myself shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hopeful business, and in the mean time, these relations, coming to my hand from my both known and faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not amiss to make them more general;' from which, and other language betokening a person interested, it may be probably inferred, that he was one of the English *merchant adventurers*. In another prefatory letter, addressed to 'Mr I. P.' probably John Pierce, the patentee, the writer says, 'As for this poor relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the several actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner;' and Winslow, in a postscript to his *Good Newes*, refers such as are inquisitive concerning the earlier period to which they do not extend, to a 'former printed book,' '*gathered by the inhabitants of this present plantation at Plimouth in New England,*' and 'to be sold by John Bellamy, at his shop at the three golden lions, in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.' This contribution of the company could scarcely be other than Mourt's Journal, which bears the imprint of being on sale by this same bibliopole, 'John Bellamie.' The body of the Journal has been ascribed to Bradford, on the ground of the similarity between its language, and that of the portions which Prince has preserved of that distinguished person's history. The account annexed of 'a journey to Packanokik, the habitation of the great king Massassoyt,' being given in the first person, must needs have been furnished by Winslow or Stephen Hopkins, who were the only persons employed on that expedition. The journal of the ten auxiliaries furnished to Massassoit against the Narragansetts, written also by one of the party, and signed A. is attributed to Isaac Allerton, a person altogether likely to be sent on such a service; and Robert Cushman, the lay preacher of the first sermon uttered in New England, has the credit of the final paper signed R. C. containing 'Reasons and Considerations touching the lawfulness of removing out of England into the parts of America,'—a controversy undertaken with diffidence, 'since,' says the author, 'it is the first attempt that hath been made, that I know of, to defend those enterprises,' but towards the elucidation of which, any minds, that yet labor upon it, may here find adduced various weighty testimonies of scripture and good sense.

The latter half of the Appendix is devoted to making up the deficiencies of Cotton's Supplement. To these it is little to say that we are reconciled, since they have given occasion to Judge Davis to prepare his spirited and satisfactory sketches of the lives of Governors Prince and Josiah Winslow, of the negotiations relating to the charter of 1691, by which Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts, and of Philip's war. These are far from being the least entertaining or important pages of the volume. In connexion with this last event, new light is thrown on a hitherto perplexing and painful subject, the death of Alexander, Philip's predecessor. It had been hitherto believed that the illness thus terminated was the consequence of offence which the highminded savage conceived at his treatment by Major Winslow, who had been despatched to bring him before the court at Plymouth, to answer for his correspondence with the Narragansetts; and Philip has had the benefit of some sympathy, on the supposition that he was partly driven into hostilities by resentment of his brother's fate. Against this view, countenanced by Hubbard and Increase Mather, who themselves appeared in the character of champions against yet more injurious imputations, all which had hitherto been brought was scarcely more than plausible extenuation. From the testimony of Major Bradford, an officer of the expedition, detailed in a letter of John Cotton, minister of Plymouth, it now appears that all the essential circumstances of the transaction were misstated abroad at the time. Alexander manifested no reluctance to repair to Plymouth, giving a satisfactory reason why he had not done it when first summoned. So far from being kept in ward, awaiting the Governor's leisure, the matter in question was forthwith amicably adjusted between him and the magistrates, then at Plymouth, who courteously spared him the inconvenience of delay till the Governor's arrival from one of the cape towns. He set off on his way home, but in two or three days returned, of his own motion, to the house of Major Winslow. While thus enjoying the hospitality of that gentleman, and not while under detention by him, he sickened. He was conveyed by water to Major Bradford's, and thence by his own people to his home, where in a few days he died. We wish the editor had been able to give us a like gratifying solution of that more vexatious problem, the execution of Miantonimo, the Narraganset sachem, in 1643, by Uncas, the Mohegan, with the counsel of the commissioners of

the United Colonies. He pleads well for them, but it is only hypothetically, and we must perforce say, that he has left this as he found it, the darkest spot on the sun of the New England annals. As far as yet appears, it was a deliberate and heinous wrong.

It is ill disputing with Judge Davis about facts, but as we look to have our review go down to posterity in the antiquarian collections, we think it meet to record our conviction, that the venerable John Watson was not the first, as is affirmed, but the second President of the Pilgrim Society, and that his predecessor was Judge Joshua Thomas. Also, we are dissatisfied with the criticism on Cotton Mather, who, in his memoir upon Warham of Dorchester, has hitherto been understood to say, that that gentleman was the first in New England who read his sermons. The grammatical construction of the passage is ambiguous. Mather (Mag. p. 121) gives an account of the origin of preaching with notes in England, and then goes on to distinguish between the *reading* and the *using* of them, treating last of such a *use* of them, as is consistent with the 'vivacity and efficacy of delivery.' Then, beginning a new paragraph, he says, 'I suppose the first preacher that ever *thus* preached with notes in our New England, was the Reverend Warham.' Judge Davis accounts the method of using them last described to be the antecedent of *thus*, and accordingly supposes that a more servile application to them had been in previous credit. We demur at this. Mather would hardly have made the name of Warham the text for a diatribe on these aids to eloquence, unless he had been the first to introduce them. The reason specified for the prejudice excited against Warham on this score, agrees only with our interpretation. 'Though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some judicious men, who had never heard him, yet when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable *energy* of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than the most of them who have been applauded for never looking into a book in their lives.' Moreover, unless we err, there are not a few skeletons of discourses of the earliest preachers preserved, which show that it was not the primitive practice to use the pen in the rhetorical part of their composition.

Persons curious in such inquiries desire freer access to such treasuries as the learning of Judge Davis, for circumstantial information concerning the character, appearance, and customs

of the aboriginal race. For some curious particulars relating to their domestic economy, their persons and manners, we refer to extracts from Mourt, given in this edition of the Memorial, (pp. 352, 355.) We are modest about gleaning in the editor's track, as well as about discussing with him, but we will venture to add to his a few selections from Mourt's Journal and Winslow's Good Newes, pertaining to similar points.

Winslow gives the following account of the religious faith and practices of the neighboring savage tribes.

'As they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none; he (they say) created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we, and all mankind came; but how they became so far dispersed, that know they not. At first they say there was no sachim, or king, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above in the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things; this his habitation lies far westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also and knock at his door, but he bids them Quatchet, that is to say, Walk abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury.' 'This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

'Another power they worship, whom they call Hobbamock, and to the northward of us Hobbamoqui; this, as far as we can conceive, is the devil, him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases.' 'This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake; he appears not to all but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honor. He appeareth most ordinary and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confess I neither know by name or office directly; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think that no weapon can kill them; another they call by the name of Powah, and the third Pniese.' *Mass. Hist. Col. 2d Series*, vol. ix. pp. 91, 92.

He goes on with an account of the offices denoted by these two titles. The former dignitary exercised the faculties of a priest of Hobbamock and a professor of the healing art, a union which assuredly none but a most erratic imagination could have feigned. The latter were a sort of rough hewn knights templars,

affecting a character of sacerdotal staidness, but more expert with the sword than with the rosary. Their government, as he describes it, was a kind of feudal rule, characterized by the pride of that polity, its exclusive property, its system of revenue, its despotic spirit, and its indulgent parental practices. Their simple division of labor assigned the chase to the men, and to Eve's representatives all the drudgery. Their laws were merciful, and for the most part just, though there were probably some flaws in the execution, when the sachem was at once legislator, court, jury, and sheriff.

'As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel, but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockings, and shoes, wring out the water if they be wet, and rub or chafe the same. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter or fox skin on their right arm, but only their bracer on the left. *Ibid.* p. 98.

'They are of complexion like our English gipsies; no hair, or very little, on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up with a feather, broadwise like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. These [the first party with whom the settlers conversed] left, according to our charge, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from the town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like anticks. They brought with him in a thing like a bow case, which the principal of them had about his waist, a little of their corn pounded to powder, which put to a little water they ate. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drunk, but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions as they liked.' *Mass. Hist. Col.* vol. viii. p. 227.

In the work before us is inserted a letter from King Philip to Governor Prince, which was probably indited in 1663, by Sausaman, a Massachusetts Indian, who had been a pupil of the English.

'To the much honored governer mr *thomas prince* dwelling at plimouth

'honered sir,

'King *philip* desire to let you understand that he could not

come to the court for tom his interpreter has a pain in his back that he could not travil so far, and philips sister is verely sik.

Philip would intreat that faver of you and aney of the maies-trats, if aney english or engians speak about aney land he pray you to give them no ansewer at all the last summer he maid that promise with you that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, for that he would have no english trouble him before that time, he has not forgot that you promise him he will come asunc as possible he can to speak with you

and so I rest your very loving friend *philip* dwelling at mount hope nek.' *Memorial*, pp. 288, 289.

Judge Davis has brought together not a few details of much interest relating to the social condition of our fathers, and their intercourse with the savages. We refer, for examples, to the extract from Winthrop's Journal (*Memorial*, p. 169), in which the pedestrian expedition of the governor, Wilson, and others; to Plymouth, and their reception there, is described; to the narratives from Mourt (pp. 354 and 356) of the first visit of Massassoit to the same place, and of the embassy of Winslow and Hopkins some weeks after, to his seat at Packanokick, now Bristol in Rhode Island; and (p. 366) to the subsequent journey of Winslow, with Hamden (probably the English patriot), when he went to act the part of nurse to the same savage ally. The latter, particularly, is a most moving chapter in the history of benevolence, besides the great importance of the occurrence which it relates, in its consequences to the infant colony; for Massassoit, in gratitude for his restoration to health, disclosed an extensive conspiracy of the Massachusetts Indians, in which he had been solicited to take part.

But we must extricate ourselves from this *ancient forest*, which has detained us so long, not with the thorns, but with the bloom and odors of its sweet briar. At the end of the three score years and ten, commemorated in this volume, the venerable mother colony, having outlived, by force of a vigorous moral vitality, its early complication of suffering and peril; having alternately extended protection to younger settlements in their weakness, and received it from their more precocious strength; having borne its part with stubborn constancy, and a prodigality of property and life, in a most critical, distressing, and costly contest; having seen, for the fifty famishing survivors of the band who first stepped upon its wintry beach, a hundred thousand of the same free race spread over the vallies of New

England,* had brought to a close its separate annals, attaining a stable dignity and strength in union with a more prosperous kindred community. We have enjoyed true satisfaction in retracing, with such skilful guidance, the steps of this strait, steady, upright progress. We find ourselves softened, admonished, purified, refreshed, in thus revisiting the *gentis cunabula nostræ*. We are awed by the devout, gentle, prudent, brave, constant, prospective spirit of the primitive conscript fathers; the spirit in which one of them, referring to their experience of all hardships, said, 'If ever any people in these later ages were upheld by the providence of God after a more special manner than others, then we;' 'for in these straits, such was our state, that in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, and yet performed the duties of our callings, I mean other daily labors, to provide for after time; and though at some times in some seasons I have seen men stagger, by reason of faintness for want of food, yet God preserved us; yea, and from how many things that we yet know not of, he that knoweth all things best can tell; so that I cannot but think that God hath a purpose to give that land as an inheritance to our nation.' We are struck with reverence by their conscientious tenderness of the rights, and their self devoting care for the souls of the indigenous tribes,† and with admiration at the generosity which, time after time, shared their scanty and hardly earned supplies with the too often lawless freights of their roving countrymen, whom disaster or improvidence cast upon their charity. If we smile, it is not with contempt, at the simplehearted jealousy for their dearly bought possessions, which brought, for instance, the mysterious Gardiner into suspicion with them of having an understanding with the Pope, and subjected the rantipole Thomas Morton, and his 'Merry Mount,' to be qualified

* Captain Smith's account of Plymouth in the autumn of 1624, as abridged by Prince, is as follows. 'There are now about 180 persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirtytwo dwelling houses. The town is impaled about a mile in compass. On a high mount in the town they have a fort, well built with wood, lime, and stone, and a fair watch house.' Dr Trumbull reckoned the number of inhabitants in New England, in 1675, at between 35,000 and 36,000. Judge Davis thinks it could not have been less than 50,000. In 1708, William Brattle of Cambridge estimated it to be between 100,000 and 150,000.

† The number of converted, or, as they were called, *praying Indians*, at the breaking out of Philip's war, when it was greater than before or since, was estimated at about 3600.

by some of the worst designations in the heathen mythology, besides a domiciliary visit and rebuke from 'that worthy gentleman, Mr John Endicot,' and rougher dealing at the more practised hands of Captain Standish. We glory with them in their inek pride when, reflecting upon the breaking up of the settlement at Weymouth, which they had been at most inconvenient cost to feed and defend, while they were in continual danger from the effects of its irregularities upon the Indians, they say, 'This was the end of those that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able and lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plimouth, who had many women, and children, and weak ones, and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plimouth, that they would take another course, and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to ; but a man's way is not in his own power ; God can make the weak stand.' We are touched with the humility of their record concerning their brethren in the Massachusetts, from whom, as the weaker from the stronger, they sometimes received measure not precisely according with the golden rule, that 'those choice and eminent servants of Christ did not despise their poor leaders and fellow soldiers that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plimouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness.' An ample roll of serious thought is opened, when, from the eminence of prosperity where now we stand, we go back to the lowly graves whither was followed one after another good man, 'that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus' and the gospel's sake, and borne his part in weal and woe, with this poor, persecuted church, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling ;' and even those specimens of elegiac poetry which this rich volume furnishes, though doubtless not the most harmonious offspring of the muse, have to our view the better merit of breathing the solemn, hopeful, affectionate spirit of noble natures.

ART. XI.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Oration delivered by Col. James Gadsden to the Florida Institute of Agriculture, Antiquities, and Science, at its First public Anniversary, on Thursday, the 4th of January, 1827. Tallahassee. Printed at the Office of the Florida Intelligencer.*

THE acquisition of Florida is one of the most important and honorable occurrences in our history. Till the acquisition was made, the far more extensive one of Louisiana was incomplete. The security of our South Western frontier could never be regarded as perfect, not even with the right bank of the Mississippi in our possession, while Florida remained in the hands of a foreign power, and thus opened an easy access to one of the most vulnerable parts of the United States. The acquisition of this important and valuable region, on terms most reasonable and advantageous to the United States, in the result of a negotiation which had hitherto baffled the skill of our ablest statesmen for thirty years, entitles the present chief magistrate of the United States, by whom the negotiation was conducted, to a praise second only to that which is justly due to Mr Jefferson for the purchase of Louisiana.

It is gratifying to witness the rapidity with which the territory of Florida is coming into a state of improvement. More has probably been done toward exploring, settling, and improving it, since it became a part of our Republic, than for two centuries before. The progress of settlement would have been still more rapid, but for the embarrassed state of the land titles in a considerable portion of the territory. The facilities for frauds of every kind, arising out of the political condition of the territory for near twenty years, have covered a good deal of the best land with fraudulent claims, which it is a work of time and difficulty to detect and vacate; nor will it finally be accomplished, we suppose, before great loss has accrued to the nation by the waste and strip of what will eventually be proved to be public lands, and which are plundered of their live oak, while the title is *sub judice*.

Every effort meantime to hasten the progress of improvement deserves encouragement. We have perused with satisfaction the address of Colonel Gadsden, before an association which has been instituted in Florida for the most laudable purposes. It is intended to discharge the duties of an agricultural, historical, and scientific society; and if a due activity and zeal are exercised by its members, it will unquestionably prove a public benefit to the territory.

Colonel Gadsden's discourse begins with a brief description of the natural features of the territory and of the agricultural products for which it is adapted. From the enumeration of the latter, we extract the following interesting list.

'Florida is no less remarkable for the natural, than the foreign productions which have been found congenial to her soils. All the varieties of pulse, the tuberous and the esculent roots, the farinaceous grains, the indian and guinea corns, wheat, barley, rye, oats, and the millets, peas, beans, yams, and potatoes, have been cultivated to great advantage. Cottons, the black and the green seed, produce, as if natural to the climate, and the experiments in sugar cane have been crowned with no ordinary success. The Banana, the plantain, the pine apple, the cocoanut, and most of the tropical fruits flourish near the southern extremity, and may, it is believed, be gradually naturalized to the northern limit; some few experiments near St Augustine have been very encouraging. Figs, oranges, limes, lemons, and all the varieties of citrons, nectarines, peaches, olives, and pomegranates, thrive in the eastern section of the territory, as if indigenous; and if any conclusions to equal results from similarity of soils and climate can be relied on, a well grounded expectation may be entertained, that almonds and the palms, all the varieties of the grapes and the oleaginous grains, which have contributed alike to the luxury, the comfort, and wealth of the South of Europe, and of the countries washed by the Mediterranean, may be successfully introduced in Florida.'

After alluding to the causes which retarded the growth of Florida under the Spanish government, and to the prospect of its rapid improvement under the United States, Colonel Gadsden remarks upon the important agency of agricultural societies in diffusing information of the greatest moment, both as respects the revival of exhausted soils and the introduction of new articles of agricultural produce. The discourse closes with a few judicious observations on the other functions, which the Florida Institute proposes to itself, as an Academy of Sciences and an Antiquarian Society.

It is truly gratifying to receive an Address like this from the press of a settlement, which, if we mistake not, was commenced but three years ago, and is now rising rapidly into importance. Our readers are probably aware that the township of land granted by Congress to General Lafayette adjoins that of Tallahassee. It must be a grateful association to this beloved veteran to see the domain, which has been bestowed upon him for his precious services in the infant struggles of the Republic, thus assigned to him in the centre of a fruitful region, which at that eventful period did not even form a part of the United States. May the

laudable measures, proposed by the Florida Institute at Tallahassee for the benefit of a territory destined to become a most important member of our confederacy, be crowned with entire success. When the great Florida canal shall have been completed, the position of the territory will be one of the most important in all North America, and its citizens will possess every incentive to emulation which a free and enterprising people can wish.

2.—*An Oration before the Washington Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania, delivered in the Hall of the Musical Fund Society, on the 22d of February, 1827. By W. T. DWIGHT. Philadelphia.*

IN this Oration Mr Dwight has treated a very noble and comprehensive theme with no inconsiderable success. His subject is *the character of the American revolution, and its influence upon mankind*. He illustrates the character of the revolution under the heads of the country where it happened, its era, the character of the people who accomplished it, the manner in which the revolution was accomplished, the character of its hero. The influence of the American revolution upon mankind is discussed, in reference to the political maxims which have been promulgated to the world in the successful result of the American revolution (such as that all power resides in the people; that all men are born free and equal; that the rights of conscience are inviolable; and that the press shall be absolutely and for ever free), and in reference to the example of America, in the points of written constitutions, free representative governments, and the entire and triumphant success with which our institutions have gone into operation. The discourse closes with a brief survey of the effects which have actually resulted from the revolution in reference to its influence on foreign nations.

The reader will perceive that Mr Dwight has brought a rich variety of topics under consideration and distributed his subject with skill. Much originality of remark could not be expected on any of these topics, which within a few years have been so variously and amply illustrated, not only in this country but in Europe. Mr Dwight has not aimed at the most fervid style of eloquence. His statements are clear and distinct, and many of them made with decisive effect. As a whole, the Oration holds a respectable rank among the performances of the class to which it belongs.

3.—*Address delivered before the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, at their Anniversary, Oct. 9th, 1826.* By JOSEPH L. TILLINGHAST. Providence.

THIS is the production of a man of taste, genius, and right feeling. The principal feature of the discourse may be considered as agricultural, and the measures proper to be adopted and pursued for the improvement of our agriculture are succinctly indicated, but with emphasis and power. The observations on manufacturing industry and the mineral wealth of the state of Rhode Island are not less important and well timed. It is such doctrine, from first to last, with very trifling exceptions, as we should be glad to have inculcated at all our rural meetings, our cattle shows, and our agricultural anniversaries, from one end of the union to the other. Not often can this be done in more expressive and beautiful language, than that of Mr Tillinghast's discourse.

The public education of America, if we may so express ourselves, has, till within a few years, been *partial* and limited to a portion only of those things, which promote the public welfare. From the settlement of the country down to the revolution, all manufacturing industry was proscribed. This was an unnatural restriction, imposed by a foreign power, not for the good of the colonies, but for her own good. It operated consequently to depress one whole branch of industry. Of the two others, agriculture was deprived of all the advantages growing out of a denser population and a nearer market, which manufactures would have produced, and navigation alone was stimulated. After the establishment of our independence, the peculiar state of the world perpetuated to a certain degree the same state of things. The carrying trade (amply shown by Adam Smith to be naturally the least favorable to the prosperity of a country) was made, by circumstances, highly attractive and lucrative to our merchants and the navigating interest in general. Then followed the disturbed condition of our political relations, which applied an unnatural stimulus to some branches of industry, and brought an equally unnatural depression on others; and to this succeeded the reaction consequent upon shutting the gates of the temple of Janus. It is only, therefore, within a few years that the country has been left open to the natural action of those influences which ought, in all respects, to decide its policy as a nation, and regulate the pursuits of its citizens as individuals.

There is, however, now no cause of complaint or apprehension, that the public feeling of the country will be restricted or confined to one or two leading pursuits. The natural attractions

and facilities of commerce remain, and there is no fear that our citizens will not engage in it, to say the least, as far as the state of things abroad will permit them to do so to advantage. Manufactures have now received a full share of the disposable capital of the country. Agriculture is daily receiving advantage from the lights diffused by our associations for the promotion of husbandry, and what are called *internal improvements* are pursued with intense and growing zeal. The mind of the country is awake, is daily informing itself, and is acting with mighty energy. Prejudices are clearing up, a feeling and policy conformed to the condition and situation of the country are daily acquiring friends; and the character of America is forming in all its departments.

We beg leave warmly to recommend Mr Tillinghast's discourse. It is on important subjects; they are ably treated; it can scarcely be read by any one without imparting to him good views, kindled feelings, and new lights.

4.—*Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of Common Schools, made to the Legislature of the State of New York, January 23d, 1827. pp. 61.*

It is generally admitted by those who have paid any attention to the state of the various seminaries of education in this country, that they are in the rear of the progress of society in other respects. To whatever cause this deficiency may be owing, and however much it may be, as it often unquestionably is exaggerated, it is obvious that the first step towards correcting it is to ascertain its precise nature and extent. To this end, it is important to obtain a full and minute account of the state of the schools and other places of instruction, with regard to the numbers and ages of the pupils, the subjects taught and books employed in teaching, the modes of instruction and discipline, and the moral and intellectual qualification of teachers.

On several of these subjects of inquiry the excellent report of the New York schools gives very satisfactory information. With regard to others, it did not fall within the province of the Superintendent to say anything.

The numbers attending the public schools are given with great apparent accuracy, and exhibit a very remarkable result. There are 431,601 children taught at the public schools only, without including those belonging to 570 school districts from which no reports were received. If we allow the same average to these, the number will rise to above 464,000. This is a most remarkable result, although the children may be taught only the bare elements of knowledge, merely to read, write, and cipher. A

child who is taught no more than this, is placed in a situation of comparative independence. In thousands of cases it depends on himself to go farther when he has been enabled to go so far. On the late establishment of schools for the scientific instruction of mechanics, in the several maritime departments of France, it was found that more workmen presented themselves to take advantage of the new instruction in Brittany, one of the least industrious and enlightened provinces in the kingdom, than in Normandy, which is noted for its general advancement and civilization. This unexpected result is attributed to the existence, in the former province, of schools established entirely by private munificence, for the instruction of 32,000 children in the simple éléménts abovementioned.*

In the New York schools, children are allowed to attend, from the age of five to fifteen and over, an average term of eight months annually. Now, in these ten years, incomparably more might be weekly done by tolerably competent instructors and tolerably good books, than is done. We learn from the report, that the teachers are generally poor, and poorly paid. What indeed can we expect them to be, when they receive 'frequently one third less than the amount paid to experienced clerks and journeymen mechanics in the same vicinity.'

On the subject of books the report must be somewhat imperfect, or we are obliged to conclude that reading and writing are the only branches taught in all the towns; that in more than one third of the towns grammar or geography is neglected, and that there are very many towns in which no text book is employed for arithmetic. As to the books used, the names being given, there is no room for mistake; and in this respect the prospect is as sad, as it is agreeable in relation to numbers. Woodbridge's Geography, however, is used in a hundred and ten towns, and Colburn's Arithmetic in *one*. From these points light may perhaps break in.

The remarks of the Superintendent upon the introduction of better school books, better teachers, and improved modes of teaching are deserving of the most serious attention, and we cannot but believe that they will do much towards producing the desirable effects which he has in view.

* Rapport sur l'Enseignement Industriel, par C. Dupin. *Revue Encyclopédique*, Sept. 1826.

- 5.—*Nature Improved, or a New Method of Teaching Languages, exemplified by its Application to Latin, Greek, and French.* By SAMUEL JACKSON, M. D. of Northumberland. Philadelphia. Robert H. Small. 12mo. pp. 166.

THOUGH the subject here announced seems to be sufficiently definite, yet the author has taken a pretty excursive range; and desultory as his tractate is, we shall be excused if, in the few observations we shall make upon it, we shall appear to have caught a little of the same spirit. A small part of the book only is taken up with the subject proposed in the titlepage, and much of it is occupied with the old quarrel about the study of Latin and Greek, and with speculations intended to lead to a decision of what it is most useful for boys and young men to learn; a decision which never has been and never can be made. One man weeps over the supposed tender victims of that tyrannical custom which claims so many years of youth for the Latin and Greek classics. Another is tormented with anxiety for such as are made to delve in mathematics, thinking that mere abstract truth is wholly worthless. A third trembles with alarm for those who have had the misfortune to acquire a taste for chemistry and mineralogy, because it diverts them from all that is valuable and beautiful in the world of intellect. But these are idle prejudices. All knowledge is useful; and a boy is none the less fitted for a chemist, or a mathematician, or an engineer, when the season arrives for the display of his peculiar talent, because he has employed his memory in learning his grammar, and his wit in the interpretation of Latin sentences.

We have seen enough of weariness in children produced by tasking their memory and attention in various ways; but not more perhaps in learning grammar, and the meaning of foreign words and phrases, than in learning to repeat their hymns and early lessons in geography, or obtaining the answers in Pestalozzi, or Colburn's Arithmetic. It will be conceded on all hands, that their memory and attention must be cultivated early, in order to secure the full value of these faculties. To this end, too, they must find some reward in the results to encourage future exertion. Now we undertake to say, that there are as many infant scholars delighted with finding that *caput* means head, and *manus* hand, as there are embryo mineralogists who are pleased to learn for the first time, that such a substance is *quartz*, and such another is *anthracite*. And we have seen the face of the child glow with more pleasurable animation in catching the meaning of a good saying of a grave Roman, whether emperor, patrician, plebeian, freedman, or slave, than could be produced by all the elements of physical science which he was capable of comprehending.

There is no great charm to the youthful mind in the elements of any kind of knowledge ; but there is time and capacity in early years for some progress in a great variety of things. A decided preference for any pursuit of learning or science, where it exists, will not fail in due time to be developed ; and where such a preference does not exist, which is the case with much the larger portion of mankind, there is no hazard from storing the mind with a variety of learning, not knowing which portion will ultimately come to most account. We have no wish to dogmatize on this subject ; nor have we any ambition to enter the lists in favor of the ancient classics ; for, though the enemies of classical learning have the popular side of the argument, yet they have long since said all that they have to say, and the more learned among them have had all the aid that they can receive from the endless pratings of sciolists and pretenders. The merits of the question concerning the utility of Latin and Grecian learning remain just where they did a century ago, and this kind of learning will no doubt continue to constitute an important part of early education.

Dr Jackson is himself, we perceive, not a little conversant with the classic writers of antiquity, and not wholly unapt to show his acquaintance with them ; and if we mistake not, we can see, through the veil of contempt which he has thrown around him, a little self complacency produced by the worthless and contaminating knowledge he has derived from their works. For the most part, one is prone to value what he has taken pains to acquire, in some proportion to the cost. But on the other hand, a pride of character for boldness and independence, and for extricating one's self from the shackles of prejudice and false education, often becomes paramount ; and though the person thus influenced would not lose the credit of his learning, he is willing himself to call it naught,

We had well nigh forgotten to speak of this ' New Method of Teaching Languages,' which, however, it seems to us, is no new method at all. It is substantially the same that we find in Latin primers, and Latin and Greeks readers ; except that the master is to be the grammar and dictionary, instead of sending his pupil to his vocabulary, and etymology, and syntax. Whether this is any advantage or not, the experienced must judge. Classification must begin at some time ; and while we would not keep a boy on his grammar till he turns from it with utter disgust, yet we cannot but think it an advantage to have learnt so much of it, that he may be advanced, by easy gradations, in the combined process of literal translation and grammatical inflexions and construction. We are aware that too much may be, and often is expected of a child ; and, therefore, while we would not teach

him as we would teach a parrot, we would avoid with equal solicitude all exactions in solitary study, which it is beyond his power to meet.

We have grown very suspicious of the modern *arcana* in education. And after all, the whole mystery in the school discipline of youth, is to procure masters of competent learning, who are *apt to teach*, who know when to encourage and when to coerce their pupils, and who, in fine, are so fond of their work, as to excite the sympathy and cooperation of those who attend their instructions.

6.—*Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenæum Gallery, consisting of Specimens by American Artists, and a Selection of the Works of the Old Masters, from the Various Cabinets in this City and its Vicinity.* Boston. William W. Clapp. 1827.

THIS Exhibition will close about the time at which these remarks will be published; and it calls for some notice, although it comes not precisely within our usual course of criticism. It is really a fine collection. We think no one can enter the room without surprise at the number of good pictures, drawn there from the private cabinets of Boston and its immediate vicinity. With such resources, and with the artists, eminent and fast rising into eminence, whom we have among us, this course of exhibition should have begun long ago. It is obviously the best mode of encouraging the art; and we suppose few will doubt the great importance of cultivating such sources of liberal and refined pleasure. We think there are peculiar circumstances, which call on us in this country to do all we can in aid of such pursuits. Public amusements are and must be a part of the system of civilized life; and the character and condition of a country cannot fail to be much affected by the nature of them. They are a part of the education of youth, as well as of the relaxation of mature life; and it cannot be for a moment thought a matter of indifference, whether those hours which the gravest and the busiest spare from labor, and the time which the idle and trifling find it so hard to kill, are spent in galleries of painting and sculpture, in concerts and public gardens, or in bull baitings, bear baitings, and prize rings, not to name other and more odious scenes of dissipation. And the individual who devotes his superfluous wealth to the purchase and enjoyment of works of art, is certainly more likely to pass though life in health and innocence, than one who, for want of other tastes, resorts to the grosser physical indulgence.

ces. With these views, which are common enough, but yet little thought of, we are glad to see any new attempt to direct the public taste into useful, or even harmless channels. Music and painting probably interest a larger portion of the community than any other arts, and there is reason to hope that this success in attracting attention to the one, will be followed by a corresponding exertion in the same city to promote the other. A scheme for that purpose was some time since proposed, and we understand, needs but a reasonable effort to afford ample means of producing so desirable an end.

The Athenæum exhibition consists of above three hundred paintings, a great proportion of which are of uncommon beauty and value. Among them are about one hundred genuine old pictures by celebrated masters; about the same number by the living artists of America, and twenty by those of other countries. Among the remainder are many old paintings of doubtful origin, and of various degrees of merit, and a few copies of masterpieces. Of the good old pictures, the greater number are of the Dutch and Flemish school. We have not room to enumerate the principal pieces, but, of this class, the best in our judgment are, in still life, the *Dead Game* by Weenix, which may be called perfect in its kind; and, in figures, the *Love Letter* by Schalcken. Besides these, there are many beautiful interiors by Teniers, Ostade, and Douw; *Fruit and Flowers*, by Van Leen; *Sea Pieces*, by Vander Velde; *Moonlights*, by Vanderneer; and *Landscapes*, by both the Ruysdaels and Swanefeldt. In the other schools, *Rebecca at the Well*, by Murillo; a *Landscape*, by Bolognese, which has been ascribed to Titian; several by Cannaletto, one very beautiful; a *Portrait*, by Angelica; a *Fancy Head*, by Greuze, and the *Guingette*, by Le Prince, may be named as the most distinguished.

We notice with peculiar pleasure, among the works of the living artists of England, *Quixotte in his Study*, by Newton; the best thing we have ever seen from his pencil. With some of the faults of which Newton will never mend, it has a high degree of merit, both in conception and execution. We have never seen a *Quixotte* which we thought would so well have satisfied Cervantes; (we never saw Leslie's.) There is no farce or buffoonery about it; it is the sober and genuine insanity of the old Hidalgo; mad from his own honest enthusiasm, and not to amuse the bystanders.

We regret not to see any of Leslie's beautiful compositions; his portraits do him no justice. The view on the Avon, by Stanley, and five or six pieces by the two Barkers, are all very pleasing pictures.

After having looked over this fine collection of old and foreign

paintings, we turn with pride and pleasure to the works of our own artists. Placed in immediate comparison with those, they hold a rank, at least as high as we have been accustomed to claim for them.

The splendid full length of Washington, by Stuart, is beyond all price; and it is a source of high gratification, that the idea which posterity will receive of the form and presence of this first of human kind, will be derived from a representation so worthy of the subject. Mr R. Peale's Washington, which has been brought into competition with Stuart's, now hangs by the side of it. No one can resist the mass of respectable testimony that has pronounced Mr Peale's an accurate likeness, but we do not perceive that it throws the least doubt on the resemblance of Stuart's. They may both be very like the same man under different circumstances and at different periods. One is the chief on the field of battle, in the pride and bloom of manhood, flushed by the instant and awful struggle for the liberty of his country; surrounded by all the 'pomp and circumstance of glorious war,' yet calm, deliberate, and dignified in his attitude and expression. The steady gaze of his eye, the firm closing of his lips, show that he is mastering the enthusiasm that burns on his cheek. His hand is on his horse ready for instant motion, but there is no hurry or impatience in his look. It is the *beau idéal* of a great captain in action. Mr Peale's picture may well be the same man in the retirement of his farm, when a southern climate had sicklied over the ruddiness of his complexion, and ease and increasing years had dulled the energy of his features and the fire of his eye. Both are, no doubt, good likenesses; those who knew Washington have pronounced Peale's to be eminently so, and we who know Stuart, know that he could not have failed in such a trial.

Stuart has painted several portraits of the late John Adams; but his last, taken in his ninetieth year, is the one with which he has most cause to be satisfied. It is a very extraordinary picture. While we speak of Peale, it would be injustice not to mention, in terms of high praise, his beautiful Portrait of a Little Boy.

We have no room to speak of Allston as we wish; his Jeremiah brings back the great age of painting. The Prophet has a grandeur of design worthy of Michael Angelo, and the Scribe is as beautiful as the imaginations of Titian. If any objection can be made to it, we think it is, that the principal figure has a rigid strength of frame which reminds us too much of the effect of great bodily labor. The Prophetess, and Saul and the Witch of Endor, are something of the same character with the Jeremiah, and we can but name them with great admiration. But his Bea-

trice is the loveliest creation of his mind ; it is the tender, thoughtful beauty of one that might well be man's guide to Paradise.

Allston's Landscapes are very peculiar. They are full of fine feeling, poetical imagination, and nice observation ; but whether they are not too much labored ; whether they have as much of the ease and careless gracefulness of nature, as they have of her brilliant lights, tender glooms, and beautiful forms, we do not feel quite assured. We cannot repress our regret, that the Desert, the best of his, indeed one of the best landscapes that was ever painted, has been suffered to leave the country. We fear, even he cannot repair the loss.

Harding has several fine portraits in the Exhibition. To make him a first rate artist, we think he wants only courage and a little more freedom of pencil.

Fisher, who has lately returned from Europe, has made wonderful advances by his voyage. His landscapes are very brilliant and beautiful. We should be better pleased, individually, if he would turn his attention entirely away from fat cattle and blood horses, which are, after all, but vulgar things for painting.

Doughty's Landscapes, especially those owned by Mr Dowse, which were painted for Mr H. Pickering, are very attractive and deserve great praise.

Sully's reputation is too well established to suffer by this Exhibition ; but there is nothing here to do him justice.

We should be glad to speak of several young artists, whose works give great promise of excellence ; but we have exceeded our limits.

7.—1. *Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of John Adams, read March 16th, 1827, in the Capitol in the City of Washington, at the request of the Columbian Institute, and published by their order, by WILLIAM CRANCH.*

2. *Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of Thomas Jefferson ; delivered in the Capitol, before the Columbian Institute, on the Sixth of January, 1827, and published at their request, by SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH.*

3. *Eulogium on Thomas Jefferson, delivered before the American Philosophical Society, on the 11th day of April, 1827, by NICHOLAS BIDDLE. Published at the request of the Society.*

THE three Memoirs, which we have now named, are severally too valuable to pass without a particular notice. They are of the

first class of the productions, which have commemorated the decease of Adams and Jefferson. We regret not to have it in our power, to add to them, as a subject of the present brief notice, a fourth Eulogium, delivered like the three mentioned, before a literary institute, and every way worthy of being placed, with them, on a level with the most successful obituary tributes to the memory of the deceased benefactors of the country. We allude to President Kirkland's Memoir on Adams and Jefferson, delivered on the anniversary of the birthday of the first, before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; a learned and philosophical memoir, full of curious matters of fact, even on a theme already so amply treated, and enriched by profound remarks on the two great characters portrayed. We sincerely hope that it will not long be withheld from the press.

Of these Memoirs before us, each has its distinctive character. The first is exclusively appropriated to President Adams, the two last to President Jefferson. Judge Cranch prepares the way for his account of Adams, by a glance at the history of the country, from the time of its settlement, and a sketch of its condition at the time of his birth. Regarding the performance as a discourse delivered before a philosophical society, such an introduction is exceedingly appropriate. It is peculiarly so in the present case. The principles and fortunes of the Pilgrims lie at the basis of the national character of their descendents, the New Englanders; and it may perhaps also be correctly affirmed, that it is absolutely necessary to the highest order of individual character, that a man should have the love, the habits, and the feeling of his country born in him. For this reason, it is an all important fact, in the biography of John Adams, that he was descended from one,* who, as early as 1630, emigrated to America with seven married children, thus embarking life and all its connexions and hopes, in the glorious cause of the Puritans. Born on the spot, where his fugitive ancestors found an asylum from civil and religious persecution, and which they had transmitted as a frugal and honorable competence through generations of the sterling yeomanry of New England, John Adams was, from his first entrance into life, a fair model of the pure New England character. In like manner Washington and Jefferson sprang from some of the earliest settlers in Virginia, and this circumstance undoubtedly, in their case as in that of Adams, accounts in part for the extraordinary ascendancy of all these men in the affections of their countrymen.

Judge Cranch relates with accuracy the incidents in Mr Adams's life; and several periods of his public career are treated

* Henry Adams.

with greater fullness, than in any other of the numerous biographies, which we have seen of him. This is particularly true, in respect to his negotiations in Holland; in which the fertility, perseverance, and independence of his mind were greatly illustrated. Familiarity with these great men, who achieved the American Revolution, destroys a little of the effect on us of the narrative of their lives. Hereafter our posterity will peruse with astonishment the history of that period; and dwell with admiration on the displays, not merely of native power, but of address, intellectual skill and aptitude, in the highest deliberative, diplomatic, and military functions, evinced by men, who rushed without training upon the great theatre of the Revolution; showed themselves expert without practice; and derived a power of execution from the same source, whence they drew the resolution to act,—the cause itself.

The limits of this notice do not admit an analysis of Judge Cranch's Memoir. But it may fairly be preserved as a performance of elevated character, the production of a pure and cultivated mind, employed on a grateful theme and doing ample justice to it. It is enriched with learned notes. Among them is the whole of the letter written from Worcester at the age of twenty; a perfect intellectual phenomenon.

Mr Smith's discourse upon Thomas Jefferson was, like the preceding Memoir of Judge Cranch, delivered at the request of the Columbian Institute, of which the two venerable men were honorary associates. Mr Smith was intimately acquainted with Mr Jefferson during the whole of his political career, in the various offices which he filled, under the Constitution of the United States. He has preserved some interesting anecdotes of his illustrious friend, not found in the other biographical notices, and has given a picture of his personal and private life, evidently dictated by unmingled affection toward his memory. In the latter connexion, we find the following incident, which, believing it to be precisely a specimen of the uniform character of the man, we quote with pleasure.

'The stature of Jefferson was lofty and erect; his motions flexible and easy; neither remarkable for, nor deficient in, grace; and such were his strength and agility, that he was accustomed in the society of children, of which he was fond, to practise feats which few could imitate. His countenance was open as day, and its general expression that of good will and kindness, which, as occasion offered, was lit up by a beaming enthusiasm. His benevolence and kindness had no limits. All that mortal could do to lessen the mass of human distress, he did. On one occasion,

when President, passing on horseback a stream in Virginia, he was accosted by a feeble beggar, who implored his aid to help him over it. Without hesitation, he carried him over behind him ; and, on the beggar telling him that he had neglected his wallet, he as good humoredly recrossed the stream, and brought it to him.' pp. 35, 36.

Mr Smith's Memoir is written in an animated and flowing style, and must by no means be omitted in the collection of the most valuable of the discourses delivered on the occasion of the decease of the Presidents.

Mr Biddle's is probably the last in the series of these productions. 'Be it our office,' he exclaims, in his introductory address to the Philosophical Society, 'as their more immediate associates in this society, to close this mournful procession ; to give the last look down that tomb, into which we shall all soon follow them, and then, pausing from the pursuits of the world, dedicate a few moments to the memory of Jefferson.'

Mr Biddle's discourse, in addition to the narrative of the events of the life of Jefferson, in which, as the successor of so many others in that field, no very copious gleanings of new facts was within his reach, presents a philosophical estimate of his works and character. The different writings of Mr Jefferson are estimated by the eulogist, with affectionate discrimination, which, justly assigning the highest merit to them all, gives each its proper character. Mr Jefferson was, upon the whole, the best writer of the revolutionary age ; we mean the man whose writing, upon the whole, was calculated to produce the greatest effect. He was certainly a less learned and emphatic writer than Adams ; less correct than Franklin in his diction, and less conspicuous than Franklin for a miraculous felicity, in giving point to important truisms and homely maxims of common life. He united, however, more than either, learning, point, and elegance. It may most justly be said of him, as in fact it might have been of either of his illustrious associates just named, that had he devoted himself exclusively to philosophy and letters, he would have stood on a level with the most renowned of their votaries. Some may exclaim of such a one,

'How sweet an Ovid was in Murray lost !'

A compliment brilliant enough when uttered, but which, even in reference to Lord Mansfield, became, before his glorious career was closed, little better than burlesque. Who would exchange the solid practical praise of one of Lord Mansfield's great decisions, in which the law ascertaining the rights, and protecting the interests of nations and unborn generations of men is defined,

and, as it were, promulgated out of the council chambers of a master mind, for all that Ovid ever wrote? Had Jefferson followed what, by a very natural and amiable self delusion, he thought the natural bent of his mind, and devoted himself exclusively to science and letters, even allowing that others would have been raised up to do for his country what he did, it is high praise to suppose, that he might have written as famous a history as Hume, or Gibbon, or Livy; and possibly have preceded Sir Humphrey Davy in ascertaining that potash and soda have a metallic base, or have forestalled Laplace in detecting an equation for eccentricity of eleven seconds per century. He did neither of these; but as a compensation, he is to go down to the latest generations of mankind, as the author of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr Biddle's discourse concludes with a parallel between Jefferson and Napoleon; a contrast, which, if not obvious, is well imagined, to illustrate the opposite qualities of a despotism won, preserved, and lost by violence; a military victory over mankind; and those of a spontaneous deference, gratefully yielded by admiring equals to one, who rises above his generation, by no other art or power than that of a more comprehensive identification of himself with them.

Mr Biddle's delineations of character and expressions of sentiment are occasionally shaded off into a hue of poetical melancholy; and his language is throughout eloquent and pathetic. His performance brings the long, heartfelt, varied strain of national eulogy to a rich and harmonious close.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LVII.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXXII.

OCTOBER, 1827.

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THE increasing interest, which is daily manifested by the people of the United States, in the history of our political institutions, is one of the best evidences, that they understand and value their privileges. It is in the common course of nature for time to sanctify past events, and particularly such as have had an influence on the condition and destiny of mankind. This is a wise provision in the order of Providence, since it is the basis of experience and the guide to action. To emulate the noble deeds of ancestors, who have been instrumental in securing the freedom and happiness of their posterity, is equally the dictate of patriotism and gratitude ; and the character of such ancestors is the richest inheritance, that any nation can receive. In the distractions of party, or faction, it is the polestar to which all may look for safety, as presenting an object to be regarded with the same respect and confidence by all. However discordant or repulsive the different branches of our republican

family may be among themselves, here is an unchangeable centre of union, an attractive power that draws every part to itself with an irresistible force. The virtues and sacrifices, the wisdom and integrity, the labors and successes of the authors of our independence, and the founders of our government, constitute a theme, that calls forth the involuntary and undivided admiration and applause of every inhabitant of this land. On this topic there is a unanimity and a fellowship, which the ephemeral politics of party can neither weaken nor turn from their purpose.

Viewed in this light, the spirit of inquiry that prevails so extensively, and acts with so lively a zeal, in regard to the incidents of our revolutionary history, is a favorable omen. It is a safeguard for the present, and augurs well for the future. All efforts to gratify and cherish this zeal in the community deserve commendation and encouragement. The field for research is a wide one, containing treasures that will amply reward the most ardent inquirer, and which the industry of years will not exhaust. The manuscript materials are more numerous, than could be conceived by any one, who has given but a casual attention to the subject. It would be an idle waste of time, indeed, to write the history of this country, in any stage of its progress, from printed books alone, and above all the history of that brilliant era, in which our national existence, independence, and glory were achieved. The papers, which have been left behind, in public archives and private depositories, by the actors themselves, are not only the most copious, but the surest fountains of historical knowledge. A more valuable labor can hardly be performed, than that of rescuing these precious remains from the fate, to which from their perishable nature they must ere long be destined, and of selecting for the public eye such parts, as are worthy to be held in perpetual remembrance. Societies, individuals, and even our national and state legislatures, might honorably contribute to the execution of such an enterprise.

Next in importance to an undertaking of this sort, is that of republishing the more rare and valuable pamphlets, and works of higher dignity, which appeared at the time when the events they recount were taking place. There are many revolutionary records of this description, which have become scarce, and in some instances almost unattainable, but which must be consulted by every one, who would make himself familiar with

events, and the spirit that led to them. The work before us comes under this class, and pertains to the closing period of our revolutionary history, that is, the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is the editor's intention, as expressed in his preface, to publish in a series of volumes the Debates in the Conventions of all the States for adopting the Constitution. The first volume is occupied with the Debates of Massachusetts and New York, as they were reported at the time. The editor's project we deem of great public utility, not merely as perpetuating important facts of history, but as collecting into one body the opinions entertained by the framers of the Constitution, and other statesmen who approved it, in regard to the construction and sense of its various parts. It is impossible to peruse these debates with attention, and have any doubts on this head, for every point was fully discussed in each of the thirteen conventions. Talents of the first order, experience, and knowledge, were arrayed on both sides in favor of the Constitution and against it; every imaginable objection was raised and answered; not a flaw escaped its enemies, nor passed without an elaborate explanation by its friends. In short, these debates afford a complete commentary on the Constitution, and whatever language it may have been made to speak by implication, constructive license, legislative enactments, or judicial decisions, there can hardly be a shadow of doubt as to the meaning affixed to any of its essential parts by those who formed and adopted it. The voice of the whole nation is uttered with the utmost distinctness, in these records of the deliberations and solemn acts of the several states.

On many accounts it is deeply to be regretted, that the debates of the grand Convention at Philadelphia have not been preserved. The advantage, which might have been derived from the arguments of the members, was thus lost to the public. The Journal of Proceedings, as recently published, is meagre beyond description, and hardly fills a blank in history. Yates's volume of the proceedings and debates of the convention, together with Luther Martin's speech, supplies the deficiency but very imperfectly. These gentlemen were warm opposers of the Constitution, and wrote and spoke as partisans. The expediency of a secret session of that body is more than problematical at this day. Had the deliberations been public, and reported daily in the newspapers, we apprehend no evil, but much good, would have resulted. The fact,

however, that nearly all the delegates to the general convention were afterwards members of the conventions of the states, to which they respectively belonged, diminishes in some degree the magnitude of the loss, that might otherwise have been sustained. It is probable, that these members shed around them all the light, which they had acquired at the first convention, repeated the arguments there advanced, and communicated the views received by them during a protracted discussion of every topic involved in the Constitution. Yet if these arguments and views had gone out to the people from the original fountain, it cannot be doubted, that they would have had a better understanding of the principles of the Constitution, and been better prepared to accord with them, when that instrument came to be acted upon by the states.

Our present purpose is not to examine the history of the Constitution, however curious or profitable such an investigation might prove ; we aim only to introduce a few particulars throwing some light on the general subject, and touching especially the conventions of Massachusetts and New York, the debates of which are contained in the volume just referred to. Having in our possession several original letters of the highest authority, bearing directly on the points in question, we shall use them freely, not presuming that any matter of our own would be equally acceptable to our readers.

The defects of the Old Confederation, entered into by the states in the year 1778, were soon discovered, and seriously deplored. Common sufferings, and a pressure from without, that operated with nearly equal force on all the states, contributed to cement the confederacy during the war, but as soon as these causes ceased, the structure began to crumble to pieces. The federative principle was too weak to sustain itself ; the states were jealous of a sovereign power over them, and took care to impose upon it so many shackles, as almost to deprive it of the ability of doing either good or harm. This quality of the confederacy, together with the terrifying phantom of a standing army, which seemed to haunt the minds of all classes of persons throughout the country, nearly paralyzed the strongest efforts that were made for prosecuting the war, and was unquestionably a chief cause of protracting the contest. Congress was cautious and wavering, fearful of encroaching on the prerogatives of the states, doubtful of its own power, and tardy in exercising the little which it claimed, and which the people

were disposed to allow. This state of things is feelingly described in a letter from General Washington to his brother in law, Mr Fielding Lewis, dated on the 6th of July, 1780, two years after the confederation had gone into effect. He first alludes to the evils, which the army and country had sustained, from the narrow and jealous policy of Congress in filling up the ranks by short enlistments; and then says,

‘To these fundamental errors may be added another, which I expect will prove our ruin, and that is, the relinquishment of congressional powers to the states individually. All the business is now *attempted*, for it is not done, by a timid kind of recommendation from Congress to the states; the consequence of which is, that instead of pursuing one uniform system, which in the execution shall correspond in time and manner, each state undertakes to determine, first, whether it will comply or not; secondly, in what manner it will do it; and, thirdly, in what time; by which means scarcely any one measure is, or can be executed, while great expenses are incurred, and the willing and zealous states ruined. In a word, our measures are not under the influence and direction of one council, but thirteen, each of which is actuated by local views and politics, without considering the fatal consequences of not complying with plans, which the united wisdom of America in its representative capacity has digested, or the unhappy tendency of delay, mutilation, or alteration.

I do not scruple to add, and I give it decisively as my opinion, that unless the states will content themselves with a full and well chosen representation in Congress, and vest that body with absolute powers in all matters relative to the great purposes of war and of general concern (by which the states unitedly are affected, reserving to themselves all matters of local and internal polity for the regulation of order and good government), we are attempting an impossibility, and very soon shall become, if it is not already the case, a many headed monster, a heterogeneous mass, that never will or can steer to the same point. The contest among the different states *now* is not, which shall do most for the common cause, but which shall do least; hence arise disappointments and delay; one state waiting to see what another will or will not do, through fear of doing too much, and by their deliberations, alterations, and sometimes refusals to comply with Congress, after that Congress have spent months in reconciling jarring interests in order to frame their resolutions, as far as the nature of the case will admit, upon principles of equality.’

The commander in chief reiterated the same complaints in letters to Congress, to individuals high in office, and to

his private friends. In answer to Dr Gordon, the historian, who had congratulated him on the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace between France and Great Britain, and on the prospects then opening to the country, he wrote as follows, in July, 1783.

‘ It now rests with the confederated powers, by the line of conduct they mean to adopt, to make this country great, happy, and respectable; or to sink it into littleness; worse, perhaps, into anarchy and confusion; for certain I am, that, unless adequate powers are given to Congress for the general purposes of the Federal Union, we shall soon moulder into dust, and become contemptible in the eyes of Europe, if we are not made the sport of their politics. To suppose that the general concerns of this country can be directed by thirteen heads, or one head without competent powers, is a solecism, the bad effects of which every man, who has had the practical knowledge to judge from, that I have, is fully convinced of; though none perhaps has felt them in so forcible and distressing a degree. The people at large, and at a distance from the theatre of action, who only know, that the machine was kept in motion, and that they are at last arrived at the first object of their wishes, are satisfied with the event, without investigating the causes of the slow progress to it, or the expenses which have accrued, and which they now seem unwilling to pay; great part of which has arisen from that want of energy in the Federal Constitution, which I am complaining of, and which I wish to see given to it, by a convention of the people, instead of hearing it remarked,—that, as we have worked through an arduous contest with the powers Congress already have (but which, by the bye, have been gradually diminishing), why should they be invested with more ?

To say nothing of the invisible workings of Providence, which has conducted us through difficulties where no human foresight could point the way, it will appear evident to a close examiner, that there has been a concatenation of causes to produce this event, which in all probability will at no time, nor under any circumstances combine again. We deceive ourselves, therefore, by this mode of reasoning, and what would be much worse, we may bring ruin upon ourselves by attempting to carry it into practice.

We are known by no other character among nations, than as the United States. Massachusetts, or Virginia, is no better defined, nor any more thought of by Foreign Powers, than the County of Worcester in Massachusetts is by Virginia, or than Gloucester County in Virginia is by Massachusetts (respectable as they are); and yet these counties with as much propriety might oppose themselves to the laws of the state in which they

are, as an individual state can oppose itself to the federal government, by which it is or ought to be bound. Each of these countries has, no doubt, its local policy and interests. These should be attended to and brought before their respective legislatures, with all the force their importance merits; but when they come in contact with the general interest of the state, when superior considerations preponderate in favor of the whole, their voices should be heard no more. So should it be with individual states, when compared to the Union. Otherwise I think it may properly be asked, for what purpose do we farcically pretend to be united? Why do Congress spend months together in deliberating upon, debating, and digesting plans, which are made as palatable, and as wholesome to the constitution of this country, as the nature of things will admit, when some states will pay no attention to them, and others regard them but partially? By these means all those evils, which proceed from delay, are felt by the whole; while the compliant states are not only suffering by these neglects, but in many instances are injured most capitally by their own exertions, which are wasted for want of the united effort. A hundred thousand men coming one after another cannot move a ton weight; but the united strength of fifty would transport it with ease. So has it been with great part of the expense, which has been incurred this war. In a word, I think the blood and treasure which have been spent in it, have been lavished to little purpose, unless we can be better cemented; and that is not to be effected while so little attention is paid to the recommendations of the sovereign power.'

In Washington's circular address to the governors of the several states at the close of the war, so remarkable for its wisdom, its sound policy, and the deep concern expressed by the author for the welfare of the nation, he urges 'an indissoluble union of the states under one federal head, as essential to the well being, and even the existence of the United States.' He was then in habitual correspondence with Hamilton, who had left the army more than a year before, and become a member of Congress from New York. To Hamilton he laid open his mind with perfect unreserve, and from him received in return a cordial interchange of feelings, opinions, and confidence. They were both equally impressed from experience with the feeble and decaying state of the federal compact, and used all their influence with Congress to bring about a more energetic system of action, and a more prompt use of the powers necessary for discharging the duties incumbent on that body, particularly so far as to render justice to the claims, and

relief to the sufferings of the army. But their arguments and eloquence were unavailing. Hamilton had indulged the hope, that some salutary change might be produced through the instrumentality of Washington, by a direct appeal from him to the people, on resigning the command of the army. Before communicating his thoughts to him, however, Washington had in part anticipated his purpose in the circular letter to the governors of the states, though not to the extent which Hamilton had desired. We next insert a letter from Hamilton to Washington, dated September 30th, 1783, and bearing on this subject.

‘In a letter which I wrote to you several months ago, I intimated that it might be in your power to contribute to the establishment of our Federal Union upon a more solid basis. I have never since explained myself. At the time, I was in hopes Congress might have been induced to take a decisive ground, to inform their constituents of the imperfections of the present system, and of the impossibility of conducting the public affairs with honor to themselves and advantage to the community, with powers so disproportioned to their responsibility; and having done this in a full and forcible manner, to adjourn the moment the definitive treaty was ratified.

In retiring at the same juncture I wished you, in a solemn manner, to declare to the people your intended retreat from public concerns, your opinion of the present government, and of the absolute necessity of a change.

Before I left Congress I despaired of the first, and your circular letter to the States had anticipated the last. I trust it will not be without effect, though I am persuaded it would have had more, combined with what I have mentioned. At all events, without compliment, sir, it will do you honor with the sensible and well meaning, and ultimately it is to be hoped with the people at large, when the present epidemic phrenzy has subsided.’

Notwithstanding the evils which were felt, from the defects of the Old Confederation, while the war lasted, these became increased tenfold after the peace. A sense of common danger no longer acted on the states, to induce them to comply with the recommendations of Congress, or make any sacrifice to promote the interests of the Union. It was the spirit of that compact, that Congress could recommend certain measures, but had no power to compel obedience. The war had hardly ceased indeed, when it became a question whether Congress could raise troops in time of peace. In May, 1794, Knox

wrote to Washington from Annapolis, where Congress was then in session.

‘I have now been here nearly one week, and nothing of importance has been decided upon, owing to the contrariety of sentiments concerning the powers vested in Congress to raise troops in time of peace for any purpose. There appears but one sentiment respecting the necessity of having troops for the frontiers, but the difficulty is how to obtain them. The southern states are generally of opinion, that the confederation vests Congress with sufficient powers for this purpose, but the eastern states are of a different opinion. The eastern delegates are willing to *recommend* the raising of troops for the Western posts, but the gentlemen from the southward say, this would be giving up a *right*, which it is of importance to preserve, and they cannot consent to *recommend*, when they ought to *require*; so that for this cause it is to be feared, that there will not be any troops raised.’

What could be expected from a system which thus failed in a fundamental principle, that of providing against foreign invasion? Among the primary objects of the union may be reckoned, first, a mutual protection against the encroachments of foreign powers; secondly, a defence against local and internal commotions; thirdly, the encouragement of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. If each of these objects could have been attained as well by the states in their separate capacity, as when acting with their united strength, it is obvious that a union could have conferred little benefit. But no argument is necessary to show, that such could not have been the case; and hence the union was desirable, just in proportion as it secured the advantages above enumerated. We have seen, however, that the first could not be secured, because it was a disputed point whether Congress had power to do it. The second was equally unattainable, for if a force could not be raised to resist invasion, neither could it to quell insurrections. The same principle applied to each of these acts of sovereign power. A government, which carried with it such marks of imbecility, whether federative or independent, must in the nature of things very soon become a nullity; and to this was the confederation rapidly tending.

If we look at this form of government in its facilities for promoting commerce, we shall find its deficiency still more remarkable. The general government had no power to adopt regulations of commerce, which should be binding on the

states. The consequence was, that each state made its own regulations, its tariff, and tonnage duties. These clashed with each other in the different states; one nation would be more favored than another under the same circumstances; and one state would pursue a system, that would be injurious to the interests of another.* Hence, the confidence of foreign countries in our commercial integrity and stability was destroyed; they would not enter into treaties of commerce with the confederated government, as these were not likely to be carried into effect. 'What,' said Mr Davie, in his speech to the convention of North Carolina, 'what was the language of the British Court on a proposition of this kind? Such as would insult the pride of any man of feeling and independence. "You can make engagements, but you cannot compel your citizens to comply with them; we derive greater profits from the present situation of your commerce, than we could expect under a treaty; and you have no kind of power, that can compel us to render any advantage to you." This was the language of our enemies; and while our government remains as feeble as it has been, no nation will form any connexion with us, that will involve the relinquishment of the least advantage. What has been the consequence? A general decay of trade, the rise of imported merchandise, the fall of produce, and an uncommon decrease of the value of lands.' This is a gloomy picture, but it was drawn in colors more or less impressive by the principal speakers in all the conventions, particularly by Ames in Massachusetts, and Hamilton in New York.

Some states infringed the rights of others, and violated the articles of the confederacy, by granting exclusive privileges to their own vessels. Others again entered into compacts between themselves, which was expressly prohibited by the sixth article of the confederation. Virginia and Maryland united in such a compact, and also Pennsylvania and New Jersey. When the war ceased, there was a heavy national debt, which it was incumbent on the states to pay, each in its due proportion.

* For a view of the laws of the several states regulating commerce, their mischievous tendency and unlucky interference with each other, especially as relating to the commercial intercourse with Great Britain, see a 'Report of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, appointed for all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, 28th of January, 1791;' published in *Atcheson's Collection of Interesting and Important Reports.* p. 55.

Requisitions were accordingly made by Congress, but with small effect. Even during the war, similar requisitions had been tardily complied with, when the salvation of the country depended on them; and now that the danger was past, neither gratitude nor justice afforded a motive sufficiently strong to conquer the bias of interest. Some states paid absolutely nothing, and not one came up to the full demand. Congress was obliged to borrow money to pay the interest of its loans, and what rendered this state of things peculiarly alarming, the aspect of affairs grew every year worse and worse. The habits of self government and disobedience in the states had become so much confirmed, as to be no longer regarded in the light of an offence against the Union; and the powers of Congress, originally curtailed and inoperative, were so enfeebled by these encroachments, that no hope of a remedy was left, except by a thorough change and renovation of the system.

We again quote, with great satisfaction, a letter from General Washington on this subject, written in January, 1784, to Governor Harrison of Virginia.

‘That the prospect before us is, as you justly observe, fair, none can deny; but what use we shall make of it is exceedingly problematical; not but that I believe all things will come right at last; but like a young heir, come a little prematurely into a large inheritance, we shall wanton and run riot, until we have brought our reputation to the brink of ruin, and then like him shall have to labor with the current of opinion when *compelled*, perhaps, to do what prudence and common policy pointed out in the first instance, as plainly as any problem in Euclid.

The disinclination of the individual states to yield competent powers to Congress for the Federal Government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body, and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being allwise and allpowerful within itself, will, if there is not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation. This is as clear to me as the A, B, C, and I think we have opposed Great Britain, and have arrived at the present state of peace and independency to very little purpose, if we cannot conquer our own prejudices. The powers of Europe begin to see this, and our newly acquired friends, the British, are already professedly acting upon this ground; and wisely too, if we are determined to persevere in our folly. They know that individual opposition to their measures is futile, and *boast* that we are not sufficiently united as a nation to give a general one! Is not the indignity alone of this declaration, while we are in the very act of peacemaking and conciliation, sufficient to stimulate

us to vest more extensive and adequate powers in the Sovereign of these United States ?

For my own part, although I am returned to, and am now mingled with the class of private citizens, and like them must suffer all the evils of a tyranny, or of too great an extension of federal powers, I have no fears arising from this source in my mind ; but I have many and powerful ones, indeed, which predict the worst consequences from a half starved, limping government, that appears to be always moving upon crutches, and tottering at every step. Men, chosen as the delegates in Congress are, cannot officially be dangerous ; they depend upon the breath, nay, they are so much the creatures of the people, under the present constitution, that they can have no views, which could possibly be carried into execution, nor any interests, distinct from those of their constituents. My political creed therefore is, to be wise in the choice of delegates, support them like gentlemen while they are our representatives, give them competent powers for all federal purposes, support them in the due exercise thereof, and, lastly, to compel them to close attendance in Congress during their delegation. These things, under the present mode of elections and termination of them, aided by annual, instead of constant sessions, would, or I am exceedingly mistaken, make us one of the most wealthy, happy, respectable, and powerful nations, that ever inhabited the terrestrial globe ; without them, we shall in my opinion, soon be everything which is the direct reverse of it.

Many other private letters from General Washington, written between the ratification of peace and the formation of the new government, might be quoted, which enter feelingly into these subjects, and indicate alike the purity of his patriotism, and his deep concern for the welfare of his country.* The calamities brought on the people by the disordered state of the government, and the darkness that hung over the future, were the unceasing burden of his thoughts. To his former compatriots in arms, to his intimate friends, to persons high in station and of commanding influence in different parts of the United States, he made known his apprehensions and sentiments without reserve, calling on them to be wakeful and active in the good cause of reformation. The time at length came, when the public mind gave tokens of being prepared for a change. Evil had accumulated upon evil, till the mass became too op-

* A remarkable letter of this kind to Mr Jay, is contained in *Marshall's Life of Washington*. Vol. V. p. 94.

pressive to be endured, and the voice of the nation cried out for relief. The first decisive measures proceeded from the merchants, who came forward almost simultaneously, in all parts of the country, with representations of the utter prostration of the mercantile interests, and petitions for a speedy and efficient remedy. It was shown, that the advantages of this most important source of national prosperity were flowing into the hands of foreigners ; that the native merchants were suffering for the want of a just protection and a uniform system of trade ; and, in short, as expressed in the speech of Mr Davie, that ‘everything presented to view a spectacle of public poverty and private wretchedness.’ The wise and reflecting were convinced, that some decided efforts were necessary to strengthen the powers of government, or a dissolution of the union, and perhaps a devastating anarchy, would be inevitable.

The first step towards a general reformation was rather accidental, than premeditated. Certain citizens of Virginia and Maryland had formed a scheme for promoting the navigation of the Potomac and the Chesapeake Bay, and commissioners were appointed by those two states to meet at Alexandria, and devise some plan of operation. These persons made a visit to Mount Vernon, and while there, it was proposed among themselves, that more important objects should be connected with the purpose at first in view, and that the state governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners with enlarged powers, instructed to form a plan for maintaining a naval force in the Chesapeake, and also to fix upon some system of duties on exports and imports in which both states should agree, and that in the end Congress should be petitioned to allow these privileges. This project was approved by the legislature of Virginia, and commissioners were accordingly appointed. The same legislature passed a resolution recommending the design to other states, and inviting them to unite by their commissioners in an attempt to establish such a system of commercial relations, as would promote general harmony and prosperity.

Five states only, in addition to Virginia, acceded to this proposition, namely, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. From these states commissioners assembled at Annapolis, but they had hardly entered into a discussion of the topics, which naturally forced themselves into view, before they discovered the powers with which they were intrusted to be so limited, as to tie up their hands from effect-

ing any purpose that could be of essential utility. On this account, as well as from the circumstance that so few states were represented, they wisely declined deciding on any important measures, in reference to the particular subjects for which they had come together. This convention is memorable, however, as having been the prelude to the one which followed. Before the commissioners adjourned, a report was agreed upon, in which the necessity of a revision and reform of the articles of the old federal compact was strongly urged, and which contained a recommendation to all the state legislatures for the appointment of deputies to meet at Philadelphia, with more ample powers and instructions. This proposal was eventually carried into effect, and, in conformity with it, a convention of delegates from the several states met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, at which the new constitution was formed, and a foundation laid for the permanent liberty, union, and happiness of the American people.

The history of this convention has never been written, nor shall we attempt it within the space now at our command. The causes which led to it, may be easily ascertained and traced out, but the opinions and private movements of the great political leaders of the day, the precise share of merit due to each for the part he acted in enlightening the public mind, and preparing it for the issue of events, the previous interchange of thoughts and sentiments, the exposition of motives, the ultimate hopes, and above all, the proceedings of the convention itself, the views, arguments, and designs of individuals, and the general voice of their constituents, as expressed by them; all these topics and numerous others are yet in the dark, and must remain so, till the papers left by the departed actors in the scene, and such as are still held by the few venerable worthies that remain of that dignified assembly, shall come under the eye of the faithful historian, and receive a patient inspection, and a discriminating award. It is to aid in such an object, that we introduce into this article so many original papers, which relate to the periods and events in question, and which have proceeded from the highest sources.

We are now about to insert a document, which we possess, in General Washington's handwriting, and which is a summary of three letters received by him from Jay, Knox, and Madison, not long before the convention at Philadelphia. It will show at the same time the opinions of these eminent persons, as to

the plan of a constitution, and the earnest attention, which Washington bestowed on the subject. After obtaining the views of others in detail, it was his custom to draw out, arrange, and note on paper the prominent points, that he might bring them into a compass, which his mind could more easily grasp. The following quotation is an exact transcript of such a summary.

MR JAY

‘ Does not think the giving any further powers to Congress will answer our purposes,

Because some of the members will have partial and personal purposes in view, which, and ignorance, prejudice, and interested views of others, will always embarrass those who are well disposed.

Because secrecy and dispatch will be too uncommon, and foreign as well as local interests will frequently oppose, and sometimes frustrate, the wisest measures.

Because large assemblies often misunderstand, or neglect the obligations of character, honor, and dignity, and will collectively do, or omit, things which an individual gentleman in his private capacity would not approve.

The executive business of sovereignty, depending on so many wills, and those wills moved by such a variety of contradictory motives and inducements, will, in general, be but feebly done; and

Such a sovereign, however *theoretically* responsible, cannot be effectually so in its department and officers, without adequate judicatories. He, therefore,

Does not promise himself anything very desirable from any change, which does not divide the sovereignty into its proper departments. Let Congress legislate; let others execute; let others judge. Proposes

A Governor General, limited in his prerogatives and duration; that Congress should be divided into an upper and lower house, the former appointed for life, the latter annually; that the Governor General (to preserve the balance) with the advice of a council, formed, for that *only* purpose, of the great judicial officers, have a negative on their acts.

What powers should be granted to the government so constituted, is a question which deserves much thought; the more [powers], however, he thinks, the better; the *states* retaining only so much as may be necessary for domestic purposes, and all their principal officers, civil and military, being commissioned and removed by the national government.

Questions the policy of the Convention, because it ought to

have originated with, and the proceedings be confirmed by, the people, the only source of just authority.

GENERAL KNOX.

It is out of all question, that the foundation of the government must be of republican principles, but so modified and wrought together, that whatever shall be erected thereon should be durable and efficient. He speaks entirely of the Federal Government, or, what would be better, one government, instead of an association of governments.

Were it possible to effect a government of this kind, it might be constituted of an assembly, or lower house, chosen for one, two, or three years; a Senate chosen for five, six, or seven years; and the executive under the title of Governor General, chosen by the Assembly and Senate for the term of seven years, but liable to an impeachment of the lower house, and triable by the Senate.

A judiciary to be appointed by the Governor General during good behavior, but impeachable by the lower house, and triable by the Senate.

The laws passed by the General Government, to be obeyed by the local governments, and if necessary, to be enforced by a body of armed men.

All national objects to be designed and executed by the General Government, without any reference to the local governments.

This is considered as a government of the least possible powers, to preserve the confederated government. To attempt to establish less, will be to hazard the existence of republicanism, and to subject us either to a division of the European powers, or to a despotism arising from high handed commotions.

MR MADISON

Thinks an individual independence of the states utterly irreconcilable with their aggregate sovereignty, and that a consolidation of the whole into one simple republic, would be as inexpedient as it is unattainable. He, therefore, proposes a middle ground, which may at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and not exclude the local authorities whenever they can be subordinately useful.

As the ground work, he proposes that a change be made in the principle of representation, and thinks there would be no great difficulty in effecting it.

Next, that in addition to the present federal powers, the national government should be armed with positive and complete authority in all cases which require uniformity; such as the regulation of trade, including the right of taxing both exports and imports, the fixing the terms and forms of naturalization, &c.

Over and above this positive power, a negative *in all cases*

whatever on the legislative acts of the states, as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative, appears to him absolutely necessary, and to be the least possible encroachment on the state jurisdictions. Without this defensive power he conceives that every positive [law?], which can be given on paper, will be evaded.

This control over the laws would prevent the internal vicissitudes of state policy, and the aggressions of interested majorities.

The national supremacy ought also to be extended, he thinks, to the judiciary departments; the oaths of the judges should at least include a fidelity to the general as well as local constitution; and that an appeal should be to some national tribunals in all cases, to which foreigners or inhabitants of other states may be parties. The admiralty jurisdictions to fall entirely within the purview of the national government.

The national supremacy in the executive departments is liable to some difficulty, unless the officers administering them could be made appointable by the supreme government. The militia ought entirely to be placed in some form or other under the authority, which is interested with the general protection and defence.

A government composed of such extensive powers should be well organized and balanced.

The legislative department might be divided into two branches, one of them chosen every — years by the people at large, or by the legislatures; the other to consist of fewer members, to hold their places for a longer term, and to go out in such a rotation as always to leave in office a large majority of old members.

Perhaps the negative on the laws might be most conveniently exercised by this branch.

As a further check, a council of revision, including the great ministerial officers, might be superadded.

A national executive must also be provided. He has scarcely ventured as yet to form his own opinion, either of the manner in which it ought to be constituted, or of the authorities with which it ought to be clothed.

An article should be inserted expressly guarantying the tranquillity of the states against internal, as well as external dangers.

In like manner, the right of coercion should be expressly declared. With the resources of commerce in hand, the national administration might always find means of exerting it either by sea or land; but the difficulty and awkwardness of operating by force on the collective will of a state, render it particularly desirable that the necessity of it might be precluded. Perhaps the negative on the laws might create such a mutual dependence between the general and particular authorities as to answer; or

perhaps some defined objects of taxation might be submitted along with commerce to the general authority.

To give a new system its proper validity and energy, a ratification must be obtained from the people, and not merely from the ordinary authority of the legislatures. This will be the more essential, as inroads on the *existing constitutions* of the states will be unavoidable.'

In connexion with these opinions respecting the principles of a constitution, it may not be amiss to state some of the chief features of Hamilton's plan of government, as presented by him to the convention. He proposed,

'That the supreme legislative power of the United States of America should be vested in two distinct bodies of men, the one to be called the Assembly, the other the Senate.

That the assembly should consist of persons elected by the people to serve three years.

That the senate should consist of persons elected to serve during good behavior, their election to be made by electors chosen for that purpose by the people.

That the supreme executive authority of the United States should be vested in a governor, to be elected to serve during good behavior; his election to be made by electors, chosen by electors, chosen by the people in the election districts; and that he should have a negative upon all laws about to be passed, and the execution of all laws passed.

That the senate should have the sole power of declaring war, and the power of advising and approving all treaties.

That all laws of particular states, contrary to the constitution or laws of the United States, should be utterly void; and the better to prevent such laws being passed, the governor or president of each state should be appointed by the general government, and should have a negative upon the laws about to be passed in the state of which he is governor or president.' *

Thus we may be led by degrees to the elements, the first germs of that constitution, which was perfected by the united wisdom of the men, who adorned the nation, and which has stood firm and gained strength amidst the concussions of parties and the trying perils of war. Such an experiment of forty years may safely be taken as a pledge of its durability, and of its fitness for the great ends of a free government. One thing

* For Hamilton's *Plan of Government* entire, see 'Journal, Acts, and Proceedings of the Convention assembled at Philadelphia, May 14th, 1787.' p. 130.

should be treasured up in perpetual remembrance, as reflecting the highest honor on the patriots, who signed the constitution in the convention, and that is, the readiness with which they abandoned their former individual prepossessions, and the ardor with which they united heart and hand in defence and support of the constitution, as it went out to the world. Notwithstanding the differences in the original impressions of Madison, Jay, and Hamilton, as they appear in the above abstracts, yet this illustrious trio were the joint authors of the **FEDERALIST**, a work which this nation to its latest posterity will regard as a legacy, next in value to the instrument itself, of whose principles it affords so beautiful an elucidation and so masterly a defence. If we look into the conventions of the states, we shall find the same liberal and self denying spirit, the same active and unwavering patriotism, the same union of purpose and exertion, on the part of those, who approved the constitution in the main, although they objected to some of its particulars. It was by this sacrifice of private feeling and opinion to public good, that the constitution was at last adopted; for, after all, this great charter of our liberties was never pretended to be the best, that human wisdom could devise, but a compromise of conflicting interests, in which small points were yielded to secure large ones, till the whole structure was as perfect as imperious circumstances would admit.

Mr Jefferson was absent in France during the whole period in which the constitution was agitated, but his opinions were communicated freely in letters to his friends. The result was, that he differed from others on some of the principal features of the constitution, but after it had passed the general convention, he no longer urged these differences as essential, but was a strenuous advocate for its adoption by the states. While he was secretary of state under Washington, it is known that he was accused of having been hostile to the constitution; and the rage of party magnified this charge into a suspicion of his patriotism and political integrity. Thinking the president might be influenced by reiterated assertions to this effect, he wrote him the following letter, dated at Philadelphia, on the 17th of October, 1792, soon after his return from a short journey to Virginia.

‘ In a letter from Monticello I took the liberty of saying, that, as soon as I should return here, where my letterbooks were, I would take the liberty of troubling you with the perusal of such parts of my correspondence from France, as would show my gen-

genuine sentiments of the new constitution. When I arrived at Philadelphia, the 5th inst. I found that many of my letters had been already put into the papers, by the gentlemen possessed of the originals, as I presume, for not a word of it had ever been communicated to me, and the copies I had retained were under a lock of which I had the key. These publications are genuine, and render it unnecessary to give you any further trouble, than to see extracts from two or three other letters, which have not been published, and the genuine letter for the payment of the French debt. Pardon my adding this to so many troubles as you have. I think it necessary you should know my real opinions, that you may know how to make use of me; and it is essential to my tranquillity not to be misknown to you. I hope it is the last time I shall feel a necessity of asking your attention to a disagreeable subject.'

Washington's reply to this letter is contained in the fifth volume of Marshall's Life [p. 359], in which the president expresses himself perfectly satisfied on the point in question, and assures Mr Jefferson that he did not require any testimony to be convinced of his attachment to the constitution. The extracts are here inserted merely as memorials of Jefferson's opinions. We transcribe them from the originals in his own hand. The first was written to Mr A. Donald.

'*Paris, Feb. 7th, 1788.* I wish with all my soul, that the nine first conventions may accept the new constitution, because this will secure to us the good it contains, which I think great and important; but I equally wish that the four latest conventions, whichever they be, may refuse to accede to it till a declaration of rights be annexed. This would probably command the offer of such a declaration, and thus give to the whole fabric, perhaps as much perfection as any one of that kind ever had. By a declaration of rights, I mean one which shall stipulate freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of commerce against monopolies, trial by juries in all cases, no suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus*, no standing armies. These are fetters against doing evil, which no honest government should decline.

There is another strong feature in the new constitution, which I as strongly dislike, that is, the perpetual reelegibility of the President. Of this I expect no amendment at present, because I do not see that any body has objected to it on your side of the water. But it will be productive of cruel distress to our country, even in your day and mine. The importance to France and England to have our government in the hands of a friend or a foe, will occasion their interference by money, and even by arms. Our President will be of much more consequence to them, than

a king of Poland. We must take care, however, that neither this nor any other objection to the new form produce a schism in our union. That would be an incurable evil, because near friends falling out never reunite cordially; whereas, all of us going together, we shall be sure to cure the evils of our new constitution, before they do great harm.

Paris, May 27th. To Colonel Edward Carrington.—My first wish was that nine states would adopt it, in order to ensure what was good in it, and that the others might, by holding off, produce the necessary amendments. But the plan of Massachusetts is far preferable, and will, I hope, be followed by those who are yet to decide. There are two amendments only, which I am anxious for. First, a bill of rights, which it is so much the interest of all to have, that I conceive it must be yielded. The first amendment proposed by Massachusetts will in some degree answer this end, but not so well, it will do much in some instances and too little in others; it will cripple the federal government in some cases where it ought to be free, and not restrain it in some others where restraint would be right. The second amendment, which appears to me essential, is the restoring the principle of necessary rotation, particularly to the senate and presidency; but most of all to the last. Reeligibility makes him an officer for life, and the disasters inseparable from an elective monarchy render it preferable, if we cannot tread back that step, that we should go forward and take refuge in an hereditary one. Of the correction of this article, however, I entertain no present hope, because I find it has scarcely excited an objection in America, and if it does not take place ere long, it assuredly never will.

The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield, and government to gain ground. As yet our spirits are free, our jealousy is only put to sleep by the unlimited confidence we all repose in the person, to whom we all look as our President. After him, inferior characters may perhaps succeed, and awaken us to the danger, which his merit has led us into. For the present, however, the general adoption is to be prayed for, and I wait with great anxiety for the news from Maryland and South Carolina, which have decided before this, and wish that Virginia, now in session, may give the ninth vote of approbation. There could then be no doubt of North Carolina, New York, and New Hampshire.

Paris, July 8th. To J. B. Cutting.—The first vessels will probably bring us news of the accession of South Carolina and Virginia, to the new confederation. The glorious example of Massachusetts, of accepting unconditionally and pressing for future amendment, will, I hope, reconcile all parties. The argument is unanswerable, that it will be easier to obtain amendments from nine states, under the new constitution, than from thirteen after rejecting it.'

Notwithstanding the constitution had been carried through the general convention, and signed by a large majority of the members present, yet there were names of weight in the opposition, who refused to sign it, and much anxiety was felt respecting the manner in which it would be received by the states. It was required to pass through the ordeal of nine states, and be approved by them, before it could go into operation, and its adversaries were extremely active in concerting measures to procure its defeat. Among the members of the convention, who did not sign the instrument, were George Mason, Wythe, Edmund Randolph, Luther Martin, Ellsworth, Yates, Lansing, Gerry, Strong, Davie. It was presumed that these men would feel bound to resist its adoption in their respective states, and for the most part such was the result. An exception is to be made, however, in favor of Strong and Davie, for they were both warm advocates of the constitution in the state conventions, the former in Massachusetts, and the latter in North Carolina. Before the general convention was dissolved, resolutions were agreed upon to lay the constitution before Congress, with a recommendation that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of each state, composed of delegates chosen by the people. This course was approved by Congress, and the request was formally communicated from that body to the legislatures of the states, by whom the people were authorized in each respectively to choose delegates to meet in convention, for the purpose of deliberating on the constitution, and determining whether it should be accepted. Within a year the constitution was adopted by eleven states, and ratified by Congress, as the national bond of union. These eleven states were Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York, in the order in which they are here enumerated. North Carolina did not come into the confederacy till nearly two years after the general convention; Rhode Island, two years and a half; and Vermont, more than three years.

Seven states ratified the constitution unconditionally, that is, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Maryland, and Vermont; the other six proposed amendments for the future consideration of Congress; and four, namely, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island, urged the importance of a bill of rights. Such a bill was drawn up

in due form by Virginia,* and the same was literally adopted by North Carolina. This was modelled anew by New York and Rhode Island, but the substance was retained in a different arrangement of parts. The amendments proposed were nearly the same in the several states. In the form of expressing them, New Hampshire followed Massachusetts very closely; and North Carolina adopted the same language as Virginia, adding four or five articles to the list, which had been reported by that state.

The entire proceedings and debates of the conventions of Massachusetts and New York, are contained in the volume whose title is placed at the head of this article. From the eminent names comprised in the list of members, it may be presumed, that the arguments on both sides of the question are here stated with as much force and ability, as are to be found in any other statement of them. The convention in Massachusetts was looked upon with solicitude, by the friends of the new system of confederacy, as it was supposed the decision would have an essential influence on New Hampshire and New York. The recent disturbances in Massachusetts had also thrown a cloud of uncertainty over the real state of things, and made it doubtful what turn they would take. Public opinion had become unsettled to such a degree, and the spirit of disorder had run so high in open rebellion to the laws, that the wisest did not venture to predict the events of the future, and none to confess himself free from the apprehension of an unfavorable issue. So deep a concern did General Washington feel in the subject, that scarcely a mail arrived, during the deliberations of the convention, which did not bring him intelligence of its proceedings from two or three sources. Mr Madison was then at the Congress in New York, and corresponded almost daily with Mr King, who was in the Massachusetts convention. Copies of the letters, which he received, he forwarded immediately to Washington. We select one written on the twentieth of January, 1788, which depicts in lively colors the aspect of the convention in the first week of its session.

‘The information from Boston by the mail, on the evening before last, has not removed our suspense. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr King, dated on the 16th inst..

* This bill of rights was nearly a literal copy, with some enlargement, of that before prefixed to the Constitution of Virginia.

“ We may have three hundred and sixty members in our convention, not more than three hundred and thirty have yet taken their seats. Immediately after the settlement of elections, the convention resolved that they would consider and freely deliberate on each paragraph, without taking a question on any of them individually, and that on the question whether they would ratify, each member should be at liberty to discuss the plan at large. This resolution seems to preclude the idea of amendments ; and hitherto the measure has not been suggested. I, however, do not from this circumstance conclude that it may not hereafter occur. The opponents of the Constitution moved that Mr Gerry should be requested to take a seat in the Convention, to answer such inquiries as the convention should make concerning facts, which happened in the *passing of the Constitution*. Although this seems to be a very irregular proposal, yet, considering the jealousies which prevail with those who made it, and the doubt of the issue, had it been made a trial of strength, several friends of the Constitution united with the opponents, and the resolution was agreed to, and Mr Gerry has taken his seat. Tomorrow, we are told, certain inquiries are to be moved for by the opposition, and that Mr Gerry under the idea of stating facts is to state his reasons, &c. This will be opposed, and we shall on the division be able to form some idea of our relative strength. By the men, who are in favor of the Constitution, every reasonable explanation will be given, and arguments really new, and in my judgment most excellent, have been, and will be produced in its support. But what will be its fate, I confess I am unable to discern. No question ever classed the people of this state in a more extraordinary manner, or with more apparent firmness.”

The method of discussing the constitution by paragraphs, which was agreed upon in the first stage of the proceedings, had an excellent effect in the end, as it kept the violent opposition members to a definite point, and prevented a repetition of all the imaginary dangers and alarms, that were supposed to lie hid in the constitution, ready to break forth with destructive sway, as soon as this new yoke of bondage should be once fixed upon the people's necks. Armies of monsters were conjured up, but they were arrayed with so little concert and skill, and brought into action in such detached parties, that they were easily discomfited. Two or three weeks passed in this kind of skirmishing, before any probable conjecture could be formed, how the conflict would terminate. Both parties claimed the superiority of numbers, and if there was any time when the opposition had grounds for doubt, they made up in confi-

dence what they lacked in the deficiency of their forces. The leaders could detect no good thing in the constitution, but saw, or fancied they saw lurking in it, a host of enemies to the rights, liberty, peace, and happiness of every well disposed citizen. A letter from Mr Madison to Washington, written nearly four weeks after the former, touches upon the subject as unfolded in its progress.

‘ Another mail has arrived from Boston, without terminating the conflict between our hopes and fears. I have a letter from Mr King of the 27th, which, after dilating somewhat on the ideas in his former letters, concludes with the following paragraph. “ We have avoided every question, which would have shown the division of the house. Of consequence we are not positive of the numbers on each side. By the last calculation we made on our side, we were doubtful whether we exceeded them, or they us in numbers. They, however, say, that they have a majority of eight or twelve against us. We by no means despair.”

Another letter of the same date from another member gives the following picture. “ Never was there an assembly in this state in possession of greater ability and information, than the present Convention; yet I am in doubt whether they will approve the Constitution. There are unhappily three parties opposed to it. 1. All men who are in favor of paper money and tender laws. These are more or less in every part of the state. 2. All the late insurgents, and their abettors. In the three great Western Counties they are very numerous. We have in the convention eighteen or twenty who were actually in Shays’ army. 3. A great majority of the members from the Province of Maine. Many of them and their constituents are only *squatters* upon other people’s land, and they are afraid of being brought to account. They also think, though erroneously, that their favorite plan, of being a separate state, will be defeated. Add to these, the honest doubting people, and they make a powerful host. The leaders of this party are Mr Widgery, Mr Thompson, and Mr Mason, from the the Province of Maine, Dr Taylor from the county of Worcester, and Mr Bishop from the neighborhood of Rhode Island. To manage the cause against them are the present and late Governor, three Judges of the Supreme Court, fifteen members of the Senate, twenty from among the most respectable of the Clergy, ten or twelve of the first characters at the Bar, Judges of Probate, High Sheriffs of counties, and many other respectable people, merchants, &c., Generals Heath, Lincoln, Brooks, and others of the late army. With all this ability in support of the cause, I am pretty well satisfied we shall lose the question, unless we can take off some of the opposition by amendments. I do not mean such

as are to be made conditions of the ratification, but recommendatory only. Upon this plan, I flatter myself we may possibly get a majority of twelve or fifteen, if not more.'

Among the persons in favor of the constitution, who made strenuous exertions in the convention to procure its adoption, may be named Rufus King, Ames, Cabot, Dawes, Dana, Gore, Gorham, Sedgwick, Parsons, Sumner. These gentlemen spoke frequently, and answered with great ability the objections advanced by their opponents. The debates continued on the separate sections and articles of the constitution for about three weeks, when a motion was made to ratify it, and its general merits came under discussion. The result was still doubtful. Till this period Hancock, who was president of the convention, had been prevented by ill health from attending its sessions. He took his seat just as the debate was brought to bear upon the main question, and immediately proposed what was called a 'conciliatory proposition,' by which the constitution was to be adopted with a recommendation of certain amendments. In this proposition he was warmly seconded by Samuel Adams, who had thus far remained silent, contrary to his usual custom in deliberative bodies, for, as he said, 'having doubts and difficulties respecting some parts of the proposed constitution, he chose rather to be an auditor than an objector.' He thought a door was now open, however, for reconciling all serious difficulties, and, as only five states had ratified the constitution, he believed the others would be influenced by the example of Massachusetts, and that ultimately the desired amendments would be effected by the method pointed out in the constitution itself.

This proposition was not cordially relished by either party. Each had taken too decided a stand to be willing to meet the other on a middle ground. The friends of the constitution fell in with it, as the less of two evils, for they wisely deemed it better to accept the constitution with this incumbrance, than to run the hazard of having it rejected altogether. A few of the opposition may possibly have been brought over by it, but the number was very small. The point was gained, however, in the deciding vote, and the motion for ratification was carried by a majority of nineteen. The conjecture of Adams, as to the effect of this proposition on the other states, was verified. Two of the states only adopted the constitution after Massachusetts, without a similar recommendation; and it was doubtless owing

to this general expression of the public mind, that the early amendments were introduced.

The success of the constitution in New York was not less doubtful than it had been in Massachusetts. The convention assembled at Poughkeepsie on the seventeenth of June, 1778. The following letter from Mr Jay to General Washington, written two weeks before, will show that the friends of the constitution were by no means sanguine in their anticipations.

‘I was two days ago favored with yours of the fifteenth instant. It gives me pleasure to find that the probability of Virginia’s adopting the proposed Constitution rather increases. Such an event would undoubtedly disarm the opposition. It appears by recent advices from Charleston, that we may count on South Carolina, and the New Hampshire delegates assure me that their state will come into the measure.

There is much reason to believe, that the majority of the convention of this state will be composed of antifederal characters; but it is doubtful whether the leaders will be able to govern the party. Many in the opposition are friends to union, and mean well, but their principal leaders are very far from being solicitous about the fate of the Union. They wish and mean, if possible, to reject the constitution with as little debate and as much speed as may be. It is not, however, certain that the greater part of their party will be equally decided, or rather equally desperate. An idea has taken air, that the southern part of the state will at all events adhere to the Union, and if necessary to that end seek a separation from the northern. This idea has influence on the fears of the party. I cannot find that they have as yet so looked forward to contingent events, or even to those the most probable, as to have united in, or formed any system adapted to them.’

To this we subjoin another letter written shortly after the convention had met.

‘The complexion of our convention is such as was expected. They have hitherto proceeded with temper and moderation, but there is no reason to think that either party has made much impression on the other. The leaders in opposition seem to have more extensive views, than their adherents, and until the latter perceive that circumstance, they will probably continue combined. The greater number are, I believe, averse to a vote of rejection. Some would be content with recommendatory amendments; others wish for explanatory ones to settle constructions, which they think doubtful; others would not be satisfied with less than absolute and previous amendments; and I am mistaken if there be not a few, who prefer a separation from the Union to

any national government whatever. They suggest hints of the importance of this state, of its capacity to command terms, of the policy of its taking its own time, and fixing its own price, and they intimate that an adjournment may be expedient, and that it might be best to see the operation of the new government before they receive it.

The people, however, are gradually coming right, notwithstanding the singular pains taken to prevent it. The accession of New Hampshire does good, and that of Virginia would do more.'

The debates in convention were conducted in some respects differently from what they had been in Massachusetts. The speakers were much fewer in number, and more discursive in their harangues. It was agreed to discuss the constitution by paragraphs, and this plan was followed as a general guide in the order of debate, but not so rigidly as to restrict any speaker from taking into his argument the whole range of topics, when such a method suited his convenience. Chancellor Livingston opened the discussion by an elaborate speech on the preamble to the constitution, in which he brought under notice the main principles of the instrument itself, and was in favor of the adoption. He was followed by Mr Lansing, the leader of the opposition in debate, whose range was not more limited than that of his predecessor. Ground was now fairly broken, and the contest was kept up by the different speakers for more than a month, when every topic had been fully canvassed, and all the light seemed to have been derived from this collision of opinion and intellect, which the subject would admit. The members, who took a chief part, were Hamilton, Jay, Chancellor Livingston, George Clinton, Duane, Lansing, and Melancthon Smith. Among these Hamilton was the moving and guiding spirit, thoroughly possessed of the merits of the case, and prompt to explain, vindicate, or confute, as occasion might require. Lansing and Clinton were decidedly in the opposition; and Melancthon Smith found himself embarrassed with innumerable difficulties, although he voted for the ratification at last.

Another of Jay's letters to Washington will not be unacceptable in this place.

July 4th. I congratulate you, my dear sir, on the adoption of the constitution by Virginia. That event has disappointed the expectations of opposition here, which nevertheless continues pertinacious. The unanimity of the Southern District, and their

apparent determination to continue under the wings of the Union, operates powerfully on the minds of the opposite party. The constitution gradually gains advocates among the people, and its enemies in the convention seem to be much embarrassed.

July Sth. We have gone through the constitution in a committee of the whole. We finished yesterday morning. The amendments proposed are numerous. How we are to consider them is yet a question, which a day or two more must answer. A Bill of Rights has been offered, with a view, as they say, of having it incorporated in the *ratification*. The ground of *rejection*, therefore, seems to be entirely deserted. We understand that a committee will this day be appointed to arrange the amendments.

From what I have just heard, the party begin to divide in their opinions; some insist on *previous* conditional amendments; a greater number will be satisfied with subsequent conditional amendments, or, in other words, they are for ratifying the constitution on condition that certain amendments take place within a given time. These circumstances afford room for hope.'

Intelligence of the ratification by New Hampshire and Virginia arrived previously to this date, and essentially affected the prospects of the opposition, for it rendered certain the requisite number of nine states. However New York might decide, therefore, it could have no weight in frustrating the ultimate adoption of the new constitution in its actual form, as a pledge and bond of a national confederacy. To dismember the Union by deserting its ranks, or to follow the example of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Virginia, and ratify the instrument with the recommendatory amendments, was now the only alternative. The latter was chosen, but with no approach to unanimity. When the motion was put to insert the words *in full confidence*, instead of *on condition*, it was carried by only two votes, even after the bill of rights and the amendments had been accepted.

Mr Lansing made a last effort, which was to obtain a resolution, that unless the proposed amendments should be submitted to a general convention within a certain number of years, New York should reserve the right to secede from the Union. The motion was lost. The constitution was finally ratified, on principles similar to those that prevailed in Massachusetts, by a majority of only three votes, there being thirty in the affirmative, and twentyseven in the negative. Fortunately every important end was gained by this sanction, partial as it was in New York and some of the other states, and after

a thorough trial the constitution has proved itself a monument of the wisdom of its framers, the bulwark of our liberties, and the dispenser of happiness to millions, who have submitted to its guidance and control.

ART. II.—1. *Observations Critiques sur le Roman de Gil Blas de Santillane*; par J. A. LLORENTE, Auteur de l'Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition, &c. 8vo. pp. 310. Paris. 1822.

2. *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana, robadas a España y adoptadas en Francia por Monsieur Lesage, restituidas á su Patria y á su Lengua nativa por un Español zeloso que no sufre se burlen de su Nacion.* [J. F. DE ISLA.] 4th edition. 4 vols. 12mo. London. 1815.

OUR ingenious countryman, Geoffrey Crayon, has somewhere noticed the singular inconsistency in the conduct of certain pedants, who affect to despise the light and popular literary productions of their own time, while they pass their days and nights in studying and illustrating the similar works of the ancient authors. By the same rule, the poems which these critics now reject as immoral or frivolous, will become the favorite objects of investigation with future Hemsterhuisés and Ruhnkenii two or three milleniums hence. Such personages, for example, as Sweet Fanny of Timmol, and Tam O'Shanter, however obnoxious at present to the graver part of the community, may then be as interesting to the learned, as the Pyrrhas and Glyceriums of antiquity have always been to the most exemplary modern scholars. There seems, in fact, to be no fixed principles in these matters. St John, surnamed for his eloquence the Golden Mouth (*Chrysostom*), who habitually thundered from his patriarchal pulpit against everything licentious in word or action, regularly slept with an Aristophanes under his pillow; and as another instance of the same incongruity, we have here two learned Spanish priests vindicating the claims of their country to the authorship of the popular and not very straitlaced novel of *Gil Blas*, with as much zeal as if the question concerned the *Alcalá Polyglott* or the *Acta Sanctorum*. They both indeed enter upon the inquiry with a sort

of patriotic enthusiasm, which appears at first view ridiculous enough upon such a subject, but which we are half tempted to excuse, when we recollect the somewhat excessive movements of indignation into which we have been occasionally betrayed ourselves by the remarks of certain meddling foreigners upon the weak points in the character of our own country.

Father Isla, the Spanish translator of *Gil Blas*, was himself an original writer of merit. His works are mostly of a gay and humorous cast; but on this subject he is as stern as the Roman Cassius, and will bear no raillery. His wrath at the supposed act of larceny committed by Lesage upon the literary property and reputation of one of his countrymen overflows, as the reader will have seen above, even in the titlepage, where he declares himself to be a zealous Spaniard, who will not suffer his nation to be trifled with, and affirms, that he has restored to it a treasure of which it had been robbed by a mauroauding Frenchman. Llorente, the author of the 'Critical Observations,' is pretty well known to the general reader by several preceding publications, and especially by his history of the Inquisition. He had for forty or fifty years acted as secretary to the branch of this far famed institution which once existed in Spain,* and, after it was abolished by the Cortes, revealed to the world the secrets of the prisonhouse of which he had so long kept the keys and records. As respects the question now at issue, Llorente, whose passions, at the time when he wrote upon it, had been cooled by the frosts of seventy or eighty winters, discusses it with rather more moderation than Father Isla, but still with evident and very deep feeling. He takes at times a tone bordering on the pathetic, and appeals to the generosity of the French; representing it as a thing below the

* It is rather remarkable that Sir John Copley, lately appointed Lord Chancellor of England, (son of our countryman, the celebrated painter) in a speech on the Catholic question, delivered in Parliament in the month of March last, should have represented the Inquisition as now existing in Spain. Unwearied efforts have been made by the clergy ever since the overthrow of the constitution to obtain the re-establishment of this tribunal, but hitherto without effect. In the winter of 1825—6, the Council of Castile and the Council of State, the two highest political corporations in the kingdom, both under the influence of the clergy, joined in three successive representations to the king in favor of the measure, with which the king as often refused to comply. These circumstances were commented upon at the time in all the newspapers in Europe, and ought not to have escaped the attention of the attorney general of Great Britain.

magnanimity of a great nation, abounding in all sorts of literary riches, to despoil a comparatively poorer neighbor of this pearl of great price. Assuming at the close an air of solemnity, he asserts, that whatever may be the verdict of contemporary critics, the grand tribunal of posterity will certainly decide the question in favor of the claims of Spain.

We are not sufficiently versed in the details of this controversy to be able to say exactly at what period it arose, or to mention all the various alternations of opinion, and successive triumphs of one party or the other, which have probably marked its progress. We believe, however, that the contemporaries of Lesage entertained some doubts as to his full and exclusive right to be considered the original author of *Gil Blas*. The compilers of a French biographical dictionary, published in 1771, mention the work with the *Bachelor of Salamanca*, *Guzman de Alfarache*, and *Le Diable Boiteux*, among the author's imitations or translations from the Spanish, as if he had himself acknowledged it to be so, as he did the others. It would seem, however, that an opinion expressed in this way without explanation or qualification, must have arisen from the carelessness and ignorance of the person who gave it, rather than the probability of the fact, which, if true, was certainly not so notorious or undisputed as this article would make it appear. The assertion proves nevertheless, that there was a current report of this description. Voltaire has somewhere thrown out hints of the same kind; but we are not aware that any formal disquisition had been published on the question until the appearance of the Spanish translation of Father Isla, preceded by a preliminary discourse, in which the worthy Jesuit boldly and peremptorily pronounces Lesage to be a literary pirate.

It must be owned, however, that the learned Father deals in round and angry assertion rather than argument; and upon looking a little narrowly into the substance of his reasoning, we do not find any distinct objection whatever to the claims of the French author, excepting the authority of the abovementioned biographical dictionary. This is quoted and much relied upon by Isla, but amounts in reality to nothing; because it is perfectly evident that the compiler had paid no attention to the subject, possessed no precise information upon it, and did not mean to treat it as a questionable point. He obviously had in his mind the idea, that the work was an avowed translation or

imitation from the Spanish. Father Isla, notwithstanding his confident tone, has no direct proof whatever to support his assertion; nor has he attempted even to make it out by internal evidence, as he naturally should have done, and as Llorente very properly has. The system of Isla is, therefore, wholly baseless as presented by him. In order to show in what manner Lesage became possessed of the Spanish manuscript of *Gil Blas*, he mentions a report that he had been for several years attached to the French embassy in Spain; and that during this time he formed an acquaintance with an Andalusian lawyer, who confided to him this and some other manuscripts, which were too free in their remarks on political subjects to appear in Spain. The first of these facts, if true, would rather serve to confute, than to establish the system of Father Isla, since a long residence in Spain under such circumstances would furnish the most plausible account that could be given of the manner in which a foreign writer might have obtained the rich mass of Spanish materials employed in this novel. The story of the Andalusian lawyer and his manuscripts is too vague to deserve much attention. On the whole, our Jesuit seems to have given proof of zeal in a great measure without knowledge; and to have, in fact, done little or nothing towards establishing the claims of his country to the authorship of *Gil Blas*. The extreme confidence which he felt in an opinion in favor of which he had so little to say, may perhaps be thought to make it probable that there prevailed among the literary men with whom he associated a general presumption to this effect, which formed the real ground of his belief in a proposition which he evidently had not taken the trouble to examine.

In the midst of the graver collisions that came on soon after in both hemispheres, and fully occupied the attention of the French and Spanish nations, the public lost sight for a time of this dispute about the origin of *Gil Blas*, and we do not find that anything of note was published respecting it until the year 1818. When Count François de Neufchâteau read to the French Academy a memoir, entitled, *An Investigation of the Question whether Lesage was the Original Author of Gil Blas, or whether he borrowed it from the Spanish*. In this work, which was printed in the following year, 1819, the Count sustains the claims of his countryman; and in the year 1820, he published in Paris a new edition of *Gil Blas*, with notes, in which he defends the same system. Llorente was then resid-

ing at Paris, deeply engaged in his history of the Inquisition and other literary labors of a very serious and important character. His patriotism (generally most sensitive in persons away from home) took the alarm at this inroad on the national glory of Old Castile, and he immediately undertook the work now before us, which he submitted to the Academy in the year 1820, and not long after printed. The Count replied in a subsequent memoir, presented to the Academy on the 20th of January, 1822, and entitled, *An Examination of the New System in regard to the Authorship of Gil Blas, in answer to the Critical Observations of M. Llorente*. This production was also printed, and here the controversy appears to have come to a close, both parties having made out their respective opinions to their own satisfaction, and left the decision to the public. We regret to say, that we have not seen either of the memoirs of the Count de Neufchâteau, and that we have no other knowledge of the nature of his arguments, excepting such as we have derived from the work of Llorente. We are aware that this is an extremely suspicious source; and while we candidly admit, that we feel a strong leaning towards the conclusions of the worthy secretary of the Inquisition, we also freely allow, and even exhort the reader to make any deductions from the weight of our authority on the subject which he may think proper, on account of our imperfect and partial acquaintance with the argument. A defence of almost any proposition, drawn up by a careful and able writer, will appear pretty plausible until the other side has been heard. Such, indeed, is the *prestige* produced by a powerful and acute logician, that the celebrated Henry the Fourth of France, after listening to the opposite counsel on the two sides of some important case, declared that he did not know how it came about, but that they must certainly both be right.

Having thus cleared our consciences by apprising the reader of the real extent of our knowledge, and putting him fairly on his guard, we proceed without further preliminaries to state concisely, but as we hope with clearness and, as far as may be, a rigorous impartiality, the tenor of the argument on both sides of this question. It may perhaps appear to some as of too trifling a character to engage the attention of a journal habitually devoted to graver subjects. Let those who think so pass at once to the next article, and take their fill of Rail Roads, Fortifications, Claims on France, South American Politics, or whatever

it may happen to treat upon. For ourselves, we think we may well venture to review what two Spanish priests and a Count of the French empire were not afraid to write, nor the first Academy in Europe to listen to; and we know not why the question, *Who wrote Gil Blas*? should not be as interesting to the public as, *Who wrote Eikon Basilike*? *Who wrote Junius*, *Ossian*, *Chatterton*, *Homer*? or, finally, *Who wrote Waverley*? the impenetrable riddle that so long baffled the curiosity of the present age, and has lately been so happily solved by the great unknown himself.

To the question, *Who wrote Gil Blas*? the natural answer is undoubtedly, in the first instance, Lesage. A man must be held to be the writer of his own books, as he is considered in law the father of his wife's children, until the contrary be proved. *Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*; and a titlepage affords the same presumption of authorship as a marriage register of paternity. The burden of proof rests, therefore, in this case upon those who endeavor to invalidate the pretensions of the French dramatist.

The first and principal argument which they allege, is the strong and deep Spanish coloring which pervades every part of the work, down to the nicest and most minute details. It is no very difficult thing for a poet or a novelist to lay the scene of his fictions in a foreign country, and to borrow a few outlandish names, dresses, and decorations, to give his localities an air of probability. This is done every day by writers of moderate as well as first rate talent. It is perfectly natural that an Englishman should have produced the play of *Julius Cæsar*, or a Scotchman the romance of *Quentin Durward*. But the case changes, when the familiarity with foreign objects and manners supposed by the style and fable goes beyond a certain point, and when the substance, as well as the form and coloring, displays in a strong manner the peculiar characteristics of some remote age or distant nation. If such a work, for example, as Mr Hope's *Anastasius*, the very tissue of which seems, as it were, to be wrought out of innumerable minute observations on foreign objects, in which every chapter and paragraph exhibits unquestionable proof that the author was an eyewitness of the scenes he describes; if, we say, a work of this kind were to be published by a person who had never been abroad, the world would conclude without much hesitation, that he had imposed upon them as his own the production

of some other pen. We readily believe that Mr Moore may have written the poem of *Lalla Rookh*, in which the substantially European train of thought and feeling is discovered at every turn, through the thin texture of oriental imagery with which it is covered. But if Galland had published the *Arabian Nights*, or Sir William Jones his translation of the Indian drama of *Sacotalá* as his own, the public, we imagine, would have easily detected the fraud. And in all such cases the presumption of a foreign original would be much heightened, if a writer had brought out other works of a very similar kind, as avowed translations, or close imitations of foreign models. If two or three volumes of the *Arabian Nights* had appeared as acknowledged translations from the Arabic, and the rest had been afterwards published by the French editor as his own, it is hardly probable that any competent judge would have been so far deceived by this pretension, as not to see that they were all parts of the same collection. Now, in this respect, the present case is precisely similar. Lesage published in the course of his life a considerable number of novels and tales, long and short, all of which, excepting *Gil Blas*, are avowed translations or imitations from the Spanish. They also all suppose, in general, the same materials and resources that must have belonged to the author of that work. There is, therefore, a strong presumption that they are all fruits of one common stock. The weight of an argument of this kind depends wholly, in each particular case, upon the extent to which the work in question is essentially foreign in form and substance, and upon the greater or less degree of difficulty with which the defect of personal observation might have been supplied by study. In some instances the presumption amounts to a certainty. No Frenchman or Englishman could have possibly identified his whole intellectual nature so completely with one resulting from a different condition of society, as to have written the *Arabian Nights*, or *Sacotalá*. In the case before us the argument has less force, because the state of civilization is nearly the same in France and Spain, and the knowledge of mere facts, however minute and intimate, might possibly be obtained abroad. The presumption would therefore hardly exceed a strong probability; but if the conclusion were corroborated by any direct evidence, it might be received as nearly certain.

Llorente, aware that this is the main point in the argument, enlarges upon it a good deal, and, as we think, makes out a

very strong case. It would of course be impossible to recapitulate here all the particular passages in the novel, which prove the minute acquaintance of the author with the political, geographical, and statistical situation of Spain, and with the manners of its inhabitants. We shall note a few of the most striking examples.

It is well known that the description of the character and conduct of the Duke of Lerma and the Count Duke of Olivares, successively prime ministers and confidential favorites of Philip the Third and Fourth, is historically correct. It is given with a degree of minuteness, that almost supposes of itself a personal acquaintance with the concerns of the Spanish Court. The face and person of Olivares are painted with a spirit and discrimination which must have required very close, accurate, and often repeated personal observation. Nor are there even now anywhere in print any materials which would supply to a foreigner the defect of such observation for this purpose. The same conformity to historical truth pervades the minor incidents of the story, and even such as are probably supposed in general to be wholly fictitious. The adventures of Philip the Fourth and Lucretia, daughter of the Marquis of Marialva and the actress Laura, are said to be historical. The fruit of this intrigue was the Prince Don John of Austria, second of the name, and not the celebrated champion of Christendom, who arrested the progress of the Turkish arms at the seafight of Lepanto, and who was an illegitimate son of Charles the Fifth. The mother is represented in the novel as being seized with compunctions of conscience on account of her illicit connexion with the king, and as retiring from the world and taking the veil in the convent of the Incarnation. This institution was founded at Madrid by Philip the Third, in fulfilment of the last will of his deceased queen, Margaret; and no persons were admitted into it but such as were in some way connected with the royal family. A foreigner could hardly have been aware of this curious little circumstance, or if he had known it, would have probably mentioned it in connexion with the story. *Gil Blas*, on the contrary, merely states the fact, that Lucretia entered this convent, without giving the reason why she preferred it to any other. The account of the domestic occurrences in the family of Olivares, of his natural son Don Julian de Valcarrel, afterwards legitimated under the name of Don Henry Philip de Guzman, and married to the daughter

of the Duke of Frias, is also conformable throughout to facts. Nor was it so easy, in the time of Lesage, to become acquainted with private incidents of this description, occurring in a distant country, as it is now, when, thanks to the newspapers, every man of any note in the world lives in a glass house, and regularly finds in the morning's gazette a detailed history of his own transactions of the preceding day.

The other characters of this work are treated with equal fidelity. Don Rodrigo de Calderon is a real personage, though not mentioned by his title of Marquis de Siete Iglesias. Thirty or forty of the principal Spanish and Portuguese noblemen are introduced in the course of the work, and their titles and dignities are described with perfect accuracy. This is a point of learning of which we may appreciate the difficulty and delicacy, when we recollect that the mass of French writers have never been able, up to the present hour, to obtain any distinct notion of the proper application of the common English appellatives of *Master* and *Sir*, but constantly confound and misapply them at every turn. Real names of persons in the lower walks of life are also employed, where we should hardly expect to find them. Thus, among the patients of Dr Oloroso of Madrid, is mentioned the bookseller, *Fernando de Buendia*; and it appears, in fact, from the titlepages of the books printed in the reign of Philip the Fourth, that a person of this name was then one of the principal booksellers at Madrid. Most of the names that are not historical are significant in the Spanish language; and this circumstance proves, perhaps still more strongly than the correct use of Spanish names and titles, the Castilian original of the book. It would be next to impossible for a foreigner to manufacture thirty or forty names of this kind, which would completely satisfy a Spanish ear; and Llorente assures us, that they are all perfectly idiomatical, and of a natural construction. Of this number are the Doctors *Sangrado*, *Oloroso*, *Cuchillo*; the innkeepers, *Forero* (*stranger*, more commonly *forastero*) and *Majuelo*; the apothecary, *Apuntador* (*prompter*), who advises Doña Mergelina to exchange her *escudero* for a *dueña*; the swindler of Toledo, Don Vicente de *Buenagarra* (*Gripewell*), and so forth. The Count de Neufchâteau remarks upon the great number of these significant names, but affects to consider them as of little importance to the question. We must beg leave to differ from him upon this point, for the reason just mentioned. Let the Count

attempt to fabricate thirty or forty significant English proper names, in such a way that they shall appear idiomatical and natural to the English; and if he succeeds, we shall admit that he is in the right; and shall further admit, that he has done thirty or forty times as much as any one of his countrymen ever did before. The extraordinary ill success of the French writers in inventing names for their English personages, and even in transcribing English names of great notoriety, is perfectly well known, and clearly shows the intrinsic difficulty of what M. de Neufchâteau seems to think a very simple affair. Among the names which he regards as significant, the Count enumerates that of *Catalina*, alias Sirena, mistress of Don Rodrigo de Calderon. This fact does not argue a very intimate acquaintance with the Spanish language. Llorente justly remarks, that *Catalina* is frequently used in Spain as a christian name for females, but even he does not mention, and apparently did not recollect at the moment, that it is the Spanish form of *Catherine*.

The knowledge of the geography of Spain, and of the manners and customs of the people supposed in *Gil Blas*, is very extensive, and the details appear to be, in general, perfectly exact, and almost affectedly particular. Remark, for instance, the description of the inkhorn purchased by the hero of the story and his associates, when they were preparing to enact the part of inquisitors at the expense of the Jew, Samuel Simon. It consisted of two pieces of horn attached to each other by a cord, one to hold the ink and the other a separate one to contain the pens. 'Every Spaniard,' says Llorente, 'knows that this is a correct description of what is called a notary's inkhorn, because notaries always take such a one with them whenever they go out, for use if occasion should offer.' Again; *Gil Blas* describes himself as walking in the streets of Valencia, and seeing a crowd of persons collected round a particular house, where, upon approaching nearer, he read the inscription in gold letters upon a black marble tablet, *La posada de los Representantes*. This building was the theatre; and the nature of the inscription, which means *Lodging of the Actors*, is explained by the circumstance, that in the time of Philip the Third and Fourth, the company was in fact usually lodged in the theatre itself. This usage never existed in France, and had been discontinued in Spain long before the time of Lesage. Once more; the chambermaid of Anna de Guevara, nurse to Philip the Fourth,

obtains from the king, through the influence of her mistress, the archdeaconry of Granada, for Don Ignacio de Ipiña ; *which benefice, says the author, being situated in a country acquired by conquest was in the gift of the king.* This passage supposes an accurate knowledge of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Spanish monarchy. 'In fact,' says Llorente, 'the king, prior to the concordat of 1753, conferred no church dignities whatever, excepting those of which the patronage belonged by some specific title to the crown. Such, by the effect of a special bull from the Pope, was the case with those which lay within the territory conquered from the Moors.' Now we do not mean to say, that Lesage might not accidentally, in the course of his Spanish reading, have made himself acquainted with any, or all of these particulars, and a hundred others of the same kind. But these are only specimens of the general manner of the work, which is wrought up in this minute and highly finished style, like a fine Dutch painting, from one end to the other. A Frenchman might have met with a description of a notary's inkstand, or learned the fact that the actors in Spain formerly lodged in the playhouse ; but could hardly have written four volumes, of which almost every line is pregnant with some allusion nearly as precise and pointed as these. A writer who studies the manners and history of a foreign nation for the purpose of employing them as materials in works of fiction, commonly makes the most of his acquisitions, and tells the world nearly all he knows. Mr Thomas Moore and Mr Robert Southey, wrought up, we imagine, in their *Lalla Rookhs* and *Thalabas*, their whole stock of oriental learning ; and that nothing might be lost, they carefully set down in the notes what they could not find room for in the body of the poem. In *Gil Blas*, the knowledge supposed is not less copious and accurate, than that which is actually brought out. The most curious circumstances, or those which a foreigner would infallibly consider such, are often suppressed, as in the instance of the convent of the Incarnation, alluded to above. We conclude, on the whole, that the fidelity of costume is carried in this novel to such an extent in all its branches, as to create a strong presumption that it could only have been written by a native Spaniard.*

* We will add here another example of this minute exactness, taken from concerns of a lower order. *Gil Blas*, in giving his account of the interior of the cavern inhabited by the robbers, remarks,

The nice observations of the critics have nevertheless discovered in *Gil Blas* a considerable number of errors, more or less obvious, principally in the manner of writing the names of places and persons. Some of these are so glaring, that it is difficult to reconcile them with any theory in respect to the author, and they must be viewed by all as wholly accidental. The rest rather tend to confirm the supposition, that the work is a translation from the Spanish, because they are most naturally accounted for by considering them as the errors of a person transcribing names with which he was not perfectly familiar. We shall mention one or two of each class.

that he saw in the stable an ample provision of *straw* and *barley*. The reader would probably pass over this trifling circumstance without perceiving that it indicated any local peculiarity; but if he were called upon to describe the contents of a stable from his own knowledge, he would find, perhaps, that instead of *straw* and *barley*, he had written *hay* and *oats*. Every one who has been in Spain will recollect, that the former articles are universally employed as the food of horses and mules, to the exclusion of the latter; but the fact is probably known to very few foreigners, especially of the character and habits of Lesage.

The habits of the robbers, as described in *Gil Blas*, are the same with those which still prevail among the persons who exercise this adventurous profession in the Peninsula. In proof of this, we add the following extract from a letter addressed by one of our countrymen, a lieutenant in the navy, to an American gentleman residing at Madrid, under date of Córdoba, April 17, 1827, in which he gives an account of a robbery of the diligence at Manzanares, a few days before. The letter was of course not intended for the press, but is written in a spirited style, and does credit to its author, whose name, not having his authority to publish it, we suppress.

‘My dear Sir,—I arrived here yesterday with sound ribs and a whole skin, but sadly out of pocket, and with my trunk in a very emaciated condition. I need not tell you that we have been robbed, for this you will have either heard or surmised already; but there will be no harm in saying something of the where and the how, so that when you come to the same spot, you may enjoy the pleasures of anticipation, and know exactly the formalities that are to be gone through on such occasions. It was, then, about three leagues before reaching Manzanares, that this robbery took place, on Thursday at two o’clock. We were going along very quietly, with our guard of four men in advance, and the conductor, who was in the *rotunda*, was talking with me, when we were suddenly interrupted by the discharge of muskets, followed immediately by the clattering of hoofs and loud and confused cries. The next moment the cause of this tumult was in sight, and the guards and their pursuers were seen flying rapidly past us, the latter discharging their carabines upon the guards, and urging their horses to come up with them. It was an animated scene this,

In giving an account of his journey from Madrid to Oviedo, at the beginning of the fourth volume, *Gil Blas* mentions that he slept the first night at Alcalá de Henares, and the second, at Segovia. This is an error of the same kind, as if a man should say, that in travelling from Boston to New York, he slept the first night at Newburyport, and the second at Providence. Alcalá de Henares and Segovia are both among the most considerable and noted cities in Spain. The former is well known for its university, which is one of the first in the country, and familiar to scholars as that where the Complutensian Polyglott (so called from *Complutum*, the Roman name of

such as I had frequently seen on canvass in the spirited little pictures of Wouvermans. The robbers were eight in number, and were variously dressed, many in sheep skins, some in montero caps, and others with handkerchiefs on their heads; they each, however, had two pair of pistols stuck into the front of the saddle, a sabre at the side, and a carabine in the moment of preparation thrown over the saddle in front. Besides this ornament, some had a second carabine hung to their saddles, with a long knife stuck in their belts.

‘In the mean time one of the guard had fled the field entirely, and the other three men were off at a respectful distance. One of the robbers, who had remained beside the postillion, now made us get down into the road, so that if the diligence advanced it would have to pass over us. The conductor, as more experienced in these matters, placed himself on his hands and knees, like a frog when he is about to jump, and we all, by order of the fellow who was taking such good care of us, imitated his example; the more readily, because he was a young man of not more than twenty, a kind of *Gil Blas* at the business, and was a good deal agitated, and for that reason the more dangerous to unarmed men. On the coming up of the captain, who returned to the diligence, leaving five of his party to keep the guard in check, we were told to get up and not to be uneasy, that no harm was intended to our persons. He called for the hat of the conductor and told us to put our money and articles into it; he then ordered the conductor to mount upon the diligence and throw down the baggage. Our keys were then called for, and a curious and inquisitive sort of fellow commenced overhauling the trunks. Another fellow stood by with a long bag which opened in the middle, into which the accepted articles were stowed. In this way my *go-a-shore* watch went to look after the parade one, and most of the contents of my trunk followed the same example. When this fellow had finished his investigation, and the other passengers were stowing away their things, I asked, if what was left was mine, and being told, yes, I began to pack up, and no longer encountered that resistance in shutting my trunk, that I had met with the day before at Madrid. Down it went at the first push. The captain of the band allowed the trunk of the lady who was with us to pass unexamined, and began a long apology to us for the trouble he was giving us; he said, that it was not his fault,—that

Alcalá) was printed by order of Cardinal Ximenes. The latter was distinguished in its better days, as a great manufacturing town, and is now remarkable for its Moorish Alcázar, its Roman aqueduct, and its Gothic cathedral. The first of these edifices derives some little additional celebrity from being the place in which the author of *Gil Blas* has laid the scene of his hero's imprisonment.* Alcalá is about ten English miles east of Madrid, and Segovia about thirty west. The critics are sadly at loss to imagine for what reason, or by what accident *Gil Blas* should have been made to pass through the former

they had refused to pardon him, and to employ him in conveying the diligence. "*Soy Felipe Caro*," says he, "*y por mal nombre el Cacaruco*." He told the conductor to tell his employers, that if they would procure his pardon and receive him into their service, he would guard the diligence for three months gratis.

'When they had completely gone through with their undertaking, they went quickly off in sight of several *galeras* that had halted at no great distance from us, and in about a quarter of an hour disappeared in a hollow that lay to the right of the road. They had at first taken away the two horses that led the team, but the postillion followed them and begged the captain to give him up the poorest, to which he at last consented. When the robbers had disappeared our guard returned, and commenced railing at the authorities of the neighboring villages, who, they said, were protecting the robbers openly; the three guards had behaved extremely well, for we could distinctly hear them challenge the assailants to come to them man for man and that they would meet them. Glory, however, was not the object of these sturdy *Manchegos*, and they were content to have succeeded in their enterprise. On arriving at Manzanares, among the crowd that came out to hear the story of our disaster, was a little girl of seven or eight years old, the daughter of Cacaruco. She was well dressed and clean; the poor little thing was very much disconcerted by the attention she attracted, and hid herself from our observation behind the door of the stable. Though we were not much indebted to Mr Cacaruco for the service he had done us, there was no feeling of animosity towards this innocent child, who seemed entirely ignorant of her father's vocation. It appears, that the innkeepers have taken a hatred to the diligence from its carrying travellers, who used frequently to loiter from inn to inn, so rapidly through the country, that only a few of the public houses gain anything by their passage; and it is thought that their instigations have as much to do with the frequent robbery of the diligence, as the necessities of the robbers themselves. This may, at least, account for the impunity with which Cacaruco might have returned, and perhaps did return, to his own house, situated in a village, on the very night of having committed so bold an offence, and of having so publicly avowed it.'

* The Alcázar of Segovia, as the name indicates, was originally a Moorish palace. It has also been occupied as a residence by the

place in his way to the latter; as it is impossible to suppose that the author, whether native or foreign, could have fallen into a geographical error of this magnitude. Father Isla believes that Lesage introduced this blunder on purpose, in order to *mystify* the public, and make it appear improbable that the

kings of Spain, and large additions were made to it in the time of Philip the Second, under the direction of Herrera, the architect of the Escorial. It is still in perfect preservation, and is now appropriated to a military school, the only one in Spain. The writer of this article visited the Alcázar of Segovia in the summer of 1826, and had an opportunity of witnessing from its upper windows what Don André de Tordesillas represented as *the flowery banks of the Eresma, and the delicious valley that separates the two Castiles*; but he found the view, as Gil Blas is said to have done, very much embellished by the warder's description. The Eresma is a meagre stream, and the country through which it passes, like the greater part of Old and New Castile, is wholly bare of wood, and presents a monotonous and melancholy aspect. The aqueduct of Segovia is one of the most remarkable Roman works of the kind in existence. It is in perfect preservation, and is still employed to supply the city with water. It consists of two lines of arches, one above the other, constructed with large square masses of granite, without cement, and in the highest part is a hundred and two feet high. The Gothic cathedral is one of the finest in Spain; so that the three nations who within the memory of man have successively possessed the Peninsula, have each left at this particular spot a specimen of the very best manner of its peculiar style of architecture.

Every thing at Segovia, excepting these three monuments, has an air of decay, or rather of complete ruin. This city formerly contained the greatest cloth manufactories in Spain. These are said to have employed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, no less than seventytwo thousand persons, a number which would give, on the usual principles of calculation, a population of at least three hundred thousand souls. The present population is not thought to exceed five thousand, who depend for subsistence upon the military academy and the church. The decay of industry in this and the other once flourishing and wealthy cities of the interior of Spain, took place with almost inconceivable rapidity soon after the commencement of the seventeenth century. Seville, which contained sixteen thousand looms for weaving silk in the preceding century, had in the year 1636, only sixty. Segovia sunk at the same time. The quantity of wool washed at Cuenca fell off, between 1620 and 1640, from sixtytwo thousand five hundred quintals, to two thousand five hundred. This unexampl'd revolution in the economy of the country was the real cause of the decline of the political consequence of Spain; but it is not very easy to account for the fact itself. No satisfactory reason has yet been assigned for it; and it must apparently have been owing to a combination of disastrous accidents. The expulsion of the Moors, in 1614, probably did more than any other single circumstance.

work could be a translation from the Spanish ; but this system, though ingenious, is not to us completely satisfactory. Count de Neufchâteau makes no attempt to account for the circumstance, and declares it to be wholly mysterious and incomprehensible. It is evident, however, that the error must have been either voluntary or accidental. If we reject the supposition that it was voluntary, and also regard it as too glaring to have been accidental in the author, the only possible remaining theory is, that it was an error of the transcriber. This is accordingly the one adopted by Llorente ; and though not unattended with difficulty, is infinitely less improbable than either of the others, especially if we suppose the transcriber to have been a foreigner. Admitting this solution, it is of no great importance what may have been the word which the transcriber had thus metamorphosed into *Alcalá de Henares*, for the name is unfortunately written out in the French work with a most distressing fulness and accuracy. Father Isla, in his translation, substitutes *las Rosas*, a village about half way between Madrid and Segovia. Llorente prefers *Galapagar*, another station on the same route. Either of these names might easily enough be transformed by a foreigner into Alcalá, but we do not see how it could have branched out into the fatal addition *de Henares*. *Gil Blas* is represented in two other several passages, as taking the same journey from Madrid to Segovia, and as changing horses at *Colmenar*. This is at least as near to Alcalá as either of the other names, and is, to our minds, the one which offers the highest degree of probability ; but like them, it leaves the *de Henares* wholly unaccounted for. In these cases it is not to be expected that every difficulty should be explained. Our private opinion, which we propose with all proper diffidence, is, that this is a piece of work botched up at two successive operations. We believe that Lesage, in the first place, wrote *Alcalá* by mistake, for *Colmenar*, and at some other time when comparing his localities with a map, where the name is commonly laid down at full length, inserted the addition *de Henares*. We are not, however, unduly tenacious of this theory, and shall freely relinquish it, if any of our exegetical readers will propose a better one.*

* Since writing the above, we find, on looking into a more detailed map of the country round Madrid, that *Colmenar* is laid down with the addition *el Viejo*, which gives a little more latitude to the transcriber. The next station on the same road is *Manzanares*, which is

In attempting to detect and correct the errors of Lesage, the worthy secretary of the Inquisition has fallen into one himself, which is the more remarkable, as it concerns the geography of Madrid, the place of his habitual residence. *Gil Blas* informs us, that on his first arrival in that metropolis he brought a letter of introduction from a merchant of Segovia, with whom he had made acquaintance on the road, to the *Seigneur* (a strong Spanish idiom) Matthew Melendez, a cloth merchant, who lived in the *Puerta del Sol*, at the corner of the *Rue des Bahutiers*, or *Trunkmakers' Street*, in Spanish, *Calle de los Cofreros*. The *Puerta del Sol*, or Gate of the Sun, as our readers are aware, is the principal place of public resort at Madrid, being used as an exchange, like the upper part of State Street in Boston, which it sufficiently resembles in extent and shape. One of the gates, which bore this name, formerly stood at this spot; but in consequence of the enlargement of the city, the entrance to this quarter was removed, in the reign of Charles the Third, to another point about half a mile off, where a new gate called the *Puerta de Alcalá* was erected, which is considered the most elegant construction of its kind in Europe. In this description of the residence of the cloth merchant, Melendez, Llorente conceives that he has detected an error. All the inhabitants of Madrid, he assures us, well know, that of the streets opening on the *Puerta del Sol*, there is none which bears the name of *Calle de los Cofreros*. Having thus stated the difficulty, he endeavors to solve it by supposing that the transcriber wrote by mistake *Puerta del Sol* for *Puerta de Guadalajara*; and affirms, that by substituting the latter name for the former the description may be made to agree exactly with the reality; by which he must be supposed to mean, that there is such a street as the *Calle de los Cofreros*, near the *Puerta de Guadalajara*. If it be rather hard to imagine how *Colmenar* or *las Rosas* could bloom out into *Alcalá de Henares*, it is still more puzzling to conceive in what way *Guadalajara* could dwindle into *Sol*. This *sun*, it must be owned, would be shorn of his beams to an alarming degree.

perhaps quite as near to *Alcalá de Henares*, as either of the others. The two places suggested by Father Isla and Llorente, are both upon another road that also leads from Madrid to Segovia; but as *Gil Blas* on two other occasions is made to take the one which passes through *Colmenar*, it is more natural to suppose that this was intended here also.

But this is not the only, nor the strongest objection that may be made to the justice of this somewhat hypercritical sally of the worthy secretary of the Inquisition. In the first place, there is no such gate at Madrid as the *Puerta de Guadalajara*. This latter city lies beyond Alcalá, on the banks of the same river Henares, and the road that leads to it from Madrid passes through the *Puerta de Alcalá*. There is, it is true, a small place or *plazuela*, called *Plaza de la Puerta de Guadalajara*, near the *Plaza Mayor*, and this may perhaps have been meant by Llorente; but unluckily for him, there is no such street opening upon the square, as *Calle de los Cofreros*. Finally, notwithstanding his assurance that it is a thing well known to all the inhabitants of Madrid, that there is no such street opening upon the Puerta del Sol, it appears that the street of this name does in fact open upon that place, and is still to be found there precisely where *Gil Blas* left it, and where it escaped the observation of our clearsighted critic during the forty or fifty years of his residence in its neighborhood. In the list of the streets given in the Madrid Directory, it is mentioned in the following terms. '*La Calle de los Cofreros es un callejon que sale á la Puerta del Sol entre la calle de Preciados y la del Arenal.*' Hardly knowing which of two such imposing authorities as the Directory and *ci-devant* secretary of the Inquisition, ought to be regarded as the more trustworthy, and happening at the present moment to enjoy (in our personal capacity) the advantage of a residence at Madrid, we felt it a duty to verify the state of this important fact, by our own immediate observation; and are now able to inform the public, that upon repairing to the Puerta del Sol for this purpose, we read at the corner of a narrow street opening upon that place in the exact spot indicated by the Directory, the words, *Calle de los Cofreros*, inscribed in black letters upon a white stone placed in the wall of the house on the left hand, which is doubtless the identical building, or its successor, formerly occupied by the Signor Matthew Melendez, cloth merchant, and tenanted temporarily by his worthy guest, the Signor *Gil Blas*. It may be proper to add, in justice to the eyesight of the Signor Llorente, that of all the streets and lanes (eight in number), which open upon the Puerta del Sol, this is by much the smallest, and may not unnaturally have escaped the notice of an observer whose vision was probably at the time a good deal obscured by continually groping about the blind passages and subterra-

nean dungeons of the Inquisition, of which, during his residence at Madrid, he kept the keys, and has since revealed the secrets. So much for the infallibility of criticism.

The other errors in the writing of names and places are, in general, pretty easily accounted for, on the supposition that they were made by a foreign transcriber not familiar with the geography and history of the narrative, and therefore tend to confirm the supposition that the work is of Spanish extraction. Thus the reputed father of the natural son of the Count Duke de Olivares, is mentioned by Lesage under the name of Don Francisco de *Valeasar*, and not, as Llorente states, *Valdeazar*. His real name was Don Francisco de Valcarcel, and his reputed son accordingly bore, as above mentioned, previously to his legitimation, that of Don Julian de Valcarcel. It is easy to see that this is an error of transcription, and that Lesage was not only not sufficiently familiar with the history of the period to have written this part of the narrative himself, but that he did not feel interest enough in the question of the historical truth or falsehood of the story to verify even this singular anecdote, by reference to authority. The young man in question was created on his legitimation, Duke of *San Lucar*, a well known place near Cadiz, which Lesage writes *San Lucat*. In the curious account of the marriage of the Count Duke's daughter, there are two or three errors of the same kind. The principal suitors for her hand are the sons of the two chief branches of the house of Guzman, to which Olivares himself belonged. One of them, son of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, is mentioned by Lesage under the title of Count de *Niebles*, by mistake, for *Niebla*. The person preferred by the Count Duke is represented by Lesage, as belonging to the family of Guzman de *Abrados*, by mistake, for *Abiados*. These are both obviously errors of transcription. Several others of the same kind are mentioned by Llorente, but these will serve as specimens.

There is also a passage not alluded to by either of the critics before us, containing, as we think, a fault of this class, which we are induced to note, as the correction of it considerably increases the effect of one of the pleasantest anecdotes in the book. The passage in question, is the epitaph on the soul of the Licentiate Pedro Garcias, which is given in Spanish, by Lesage, in the following form. '*Aquí está encerrada el alma del Licenciado Pedro Garcias.*' It is quite evident, that the true

reading is *enterrada*, the inscription being a parody on the common epitaphial formula, *Here lies interred the body, &c.* Lesage, mistaking the *t* for a *c* has introduced a word which is unsuitable to the context, and is never employed in an epitaph. The corrected reading justifies the mirth of the thoughtless student, who is represented as having been greatly diverted with the idea of *une âme enfermée*; *a soul imprisoned or shut up*. There is nothing in this notion particularly pleasant; but the contrast of the inscription, *Here lies interred the soul of the licentiate*, with an ordinary epitaph, might naturally be expected to excite the laughter of a shallow pated youngster, like the one supposed. We observe that Father Isla, though he makes no remark upon this error, has corrected it in his translation.

Llorente endeavors to substantiate his proposition, that the work is of Spanish extraction by another sort of internal evidence, which, as he thinks, fixes the date of its composition at a period anterior to that of Lesage, and somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century. On this head, however, his reasoning does not appear to us to be quite satisfactory. The principal passages relied upon are those which allude to an existing war between Spain and Portugal. In one of them, *Gil Blas* speaking in the person of a fictitious character, which he had assumed for a particular purpose, mentions that his father was killed fifteen years before in a battle that took place on the frontiers of Portugal. This battle, according to Llorente, was fought in 1640, and the date thus given would be that of 1655. He believes that the author inserted the passage expressly, in order to determine the exact time when the novel was written; but this can hardly be admitted, unless it be first made out on other grounds that it was in fact written at about this epoch, and not at the later one, when Lesage lived. The passages in question indicate in form only the period when the action is supposed to take place, and have no direct tendency to fix that when the work was composed.

Count de Neufchâteau, on the other hand, attempts to establish by a similar mode of reasoning, the claims of Lesage; and as far as we can judge from the work of Llorente, the argument derived from this topic is almost the only one of any real force, which he is able to bring in aid of the natural presumption in favor of his client, resulting from his having published the work as his own. Neufchâteau cites a number of passages

containing allusions to events that had occurred at Paris a short time only before the novel was published, which serve, as he thinks, to prove that it must have been written by an inhabitant of that city about the time when it appeared, and of course to refute the theory of Llorente. Thus, Roger de Rada is said to have listened to the recital of his father with the same attention which was given by the Prince of Ithaca to that of Ulysses; and at the close of the episode containing his adventures, Gil Blas says, that he sent back this new Telemachus to rejoin his Ulysses and Penelope. These passages are thought to suppose the previous publication of Fenelon's Telemachus. Again; the story of Valerio de Luna appears to be founded upon the adventure of the Chevalier de Villiers, who committed suicide at Paris, in the year 1671, for the love of his grandmother, Ninon de l'Enclos. The anecdote of the two physicians, *Andros* and *Oquetos*, evidently alludes to a dispute which had occurred between the two French doctors, Andry and Hecquet, whose names are slightly disguised under these Greek appellations. They even quote, in the course of their controversy, a work published by Hecquet, under the title, *Le Larcin de la Médecine*. These and several other passages of a similar kind, corroborate the *prima facie* evidence in favor of the claims of Lesage; nor do we conceive that Llorente has succeeded in the attempt which he has made, as respects most of them, to controvert the reality of the allusion. The true answer is, that these passages, though entitled to attention as arguments in favor of Lesage, cannot be regarded as decisive against a considerable mass of direct evidence to the contrary, because their introduction is easily reconciled with the theory of a Spanish original. A man of talent and a fine writer, in dressing up a foreign work which he intended to publish as his own, would naturally modify the form of it, and insert a good deal of original matter. An occasional allusion to late publications, or events that had really occurred at Paris, would be an easy method of removing for the moment any suspicion of fraud. Such allusions no doubt strengthen, in some degree, the natural presumption resulting from the mere fact of publication; but as they can easily be accounted for on the supposition that the work is of Spanish extraction, they cannot be considered as refuting the positive arguments which establish the latter supposition, and which cannot be reconciled with the contrary one.

This evidence, as far as we have hitherto considered it, results directly from the substance of the work ; but if the book be in fact a translation from the Spanish, it would be natural to expect to find in the form, that is, in the style and language, some distinct and undoubted traces of the primitive dialect. A writer of taste and talent, no doubt, has it in his power to give to a translation something of the idiomatical and easy manner of an original composition ; but in a work of this extent, it would be next to impossible to keep up such a manner uniformly from one end to the other ; or even to avoid the frequent recurrence of a foreign phraseology. In this important particular, the fact corresponds with the expectations which result from the theory in question. The work, though written in a style in other respects remarkably pure, as well as correct and easy, presents throughout a mixture of Spanish idioms, and even pure Spanish words and phrases, which it would be difficult to account for on any other supposition, but which coincide with and strongly confirm the one maintained by Llorente. We shall cite some of these *Hispanicisms*, which constitute the most palpable, and perhaps the most decisive proof, that the work is a translation from the Spanish.

The one which from its nature occurs the most frequently, and to which we have already alluded, is the constant use of *Seigneur*, as the common style of personal address, instead of *Monsieur*, which would have been naturally employed by an original French writer. *Seigneur* is a French word of very limited application, much more so than the corresponding one of *Lord* in English, though not quite so much so as the English form of the same word, *Signior*, which, we believe, is now never used, except as a title for the Grand Turk. Under the old French régime, *Seigneur* was the style of the feudal proprietors who held of the crown, and this system of tenures being now abolished, the word is hardly used at all. The corresponding term of address, *Monseigneur*, was appropriated to princes of the blood royal, bishops, peers (who were only ten or twelve in number, under the old constitution), and a few others of the highest political dignitaries. To have spoken of a *Seigneur cloth merchant*, a *Seigneur innkeeper*, a *Seigneur Gil Blas*, and finally, a *Seigneur Scipio*, his lacquey, would have been received as intentional burlesque. In Spanish, on the contrary, the word *Señor* corresponds with the French *Monsieur*, and the English *Master*, and is even more exten-

sively used, being universally employed as a term of address between persons of all classes, from the king to the footman. This is precisely the manner in which the French *Seigneur* is used in Gil Blas. Thus this worthy character upon his first sally out of Oviedo encounters a sturdy beggar, who takes aim at him with his musket, and at the same time solicits alms, with the polite address of *Seigneur passant*. The natural phrase in French would be *Monsieur le voyageur*; but *Seigneur passant*, *My Lord passenger*, as an address to a poor little student mounted on a sorry mule, could hardly have crept into a well written French work, except by accident. It is easily accounted for by supposing it to correspond with the Spanish phrase *Señor pasagero*, which is idiomatical and natural. In the same way, the parasite with whom Gil Blas fell in at the tavern at Peñaflor, addresses him with the title of *Seigneur écolier*, and the latter returns it with *Seigneur cavalier*. The word *cavalier* has no other meaning in French, excepting that of a man on horseback, and as used here, is evidently a false translation of the Spanish *caballero*. *Seigneur écolier*, *My Lord Student*, is a style which in France or England would have been too gross for even the unexperienced stomach of Gil Blas. Father Isla seems to have thought, that *Señor estudiante* would hardly answer even in Spanish, and has substituted the more respectable character of *Licenciado*.

Independently of Spanish idioms, there is a great deal of pure Spanish interspersed through the novel, which can hardly have got there honestly. Thus Gil Blas describes the goldsmith, Salero, his intended father in law, as *un bon bourgeois, qui était, comme nous disons, poli* HASTA PORFIAR. *Il me présente la SENORA EUGENIA, sa femme, et la jeune GABRIELA, sa fille.* Here are two pure Spanish phrases in three lines, not to mention the proper name *Gabriela*, which Lesage, had he been writing from his own head, would have probably frenchified into *Gabrielle*, a very common name in his country. Again; the barber, Diego de la Fuente, in giving an account of his learning the guitar, remarks, that he had *pour maître de cet instrument un vieux SENOR ESCUDERO à qui je faisais la barbe*. The immediate motive for leaving this phrase in the original language, was perhaps the difficulty of rendering correctly the term *escudero*, in the sense here intended, which is that of a sort of upper servant, personally attending on a lady of quality. There is no corresponding term in French, or any

other modern language, because this class of domestics was never known in any other country. It has long since gone out of use in Spain; and the frequent allusion to it in *Gil Blas*, is one pretty strong proof of the early composition of the work. The word *page* does not give the idea, because a page was always a youth, while the *escudero* was regularly an elderly person of a staid and respectable exterior. In some other passages, Lesage has used the French form of the same word, *écuyer*, as in the opening of the first chapter, where he states that the parents of *Gil Blas* went into service, his mother as a chambermaid, and his father as an *écuyer*. But *écuyer*, when applied to servants, means exclusively a groom, and conveys a wholly different notion from the Spanish *escudero* in this acceptance of it. Perceiving this, and having no French word that really represented the meaning, it was natural enough for Lesage to leave it in the original, as he has done in this and some other instances. Once more; when *Gil Blas*, at the height of his credit at court, finds himself unable to recollect the countenance of his playfellow, Bertrand Nutmeg (*Moscada*), the little grocer's boy of Oviedo, who had come up to Madrid to tell him of the state of his family, the other reminds him that they had often played together at the *gallina-ciega*, blindman's buff, literally the *blind hen*. Lesage gives, in a note, the corresponding French term *Colin-Maillard*. If he had been writing originally, the natural course would have been to put the French term in the text, and the Spanish (if mentioned at all) in the note. Finally (for we begin to think that we have said nearly as much upon the subject, as, in the language of the trade, *it will bear*), *Gil Blas*, when confined in the Alcázar at Segovia, hears a fellow prisoner singing to his guitar the following Spanish verses, which appear to have been written by the author of the novel, as they are not known to exist anywhere else, and which a foreigner could hardly have produced, and would not probably have attempted;

‘ ; Ay de mi ! un año felice
Parece un soplo ligero ;
Pero sin dicha un instante
Es un siglo de tormento.’

We shall notice one other passage, not alluded to by either of the authors before us, which does not come precisely under the head of mistranslation, but which proves, perhaps as strongly as any one we have cited, the reality of a Spanish original of

the work. The Asturian poet, Fabricius, in relating his adventures to *Gil Blas*, dwells particularly upon the false taste in poetry introduced by *Gongora*. The same subject is touched upon in several other places, and, considered merely as a topic of discussion, is one which we should much more naturally expect to meet with in the works of a Spanish, than of a French writer. In this passage, *Lesage* not only treats the matter very fully, in the way of observation, but undertakes to give in French an example of this affected manner of writing and speaking Spanish. A good writer, he remarks, would say, *tout uniment, Les intermèdes EMBELLISSENT une comédie ; et nous, nous disons plus joliment, Les intermèdes FONT BEAUTE' dans une comédie. Remarque bien ce FONT BEAUTE' ; en sens-tu tout le brillant, toute la délicatesse, tout le mignon ?* Without insisting on the complete failure of this attempt to give an idea of the style of *Gongora*, it is quite evident that a Frenchman, writing originally, would not think of illustrating by examples in his own language, the verbal niceties of a foreign one. It requires the supposition of a Spanish original of the work, and of a rather hasty preparation of this part of the translation, to account for such a passage as the above, which, in our view, is nearly sufficient of itself to establish the proposition maintained by *Llorente*.

We are, therefore, inclined to consider it as, on the whole, nearly certain that *Gil Blas* is a translation from the Spanish ; and as no such work had been printed in Spain before the time of *Lesage*, he must have made it, of course, from an unpublished Spanish manuscript, of which he had in some way obtained possession. In preparing it for the press, he may probably have changed its form a good deal, and perhaps added or subtracted passages of more or less importance. The work consists, as our readers are aware, of a principal narrative, which forms the basis of it, and of a number of episodes, composing about a third part of the matter. It is not improbable that some of these episodes may have been inserted by *Lesage*. One or two of them are made up of materials previously existing in printed Spanish books. Thus the story of *Aurora de Guzman*, is no other than the fable of a well known play by *Moreto*, entitled, *Todo es enredos Amor, ó el Diablo son las Mujeres* ; ‘ All’s fair in Love, or the Women are the Devil.’ The adventures of the little barber’s boy, *Diégo de la Fuente*, are borrowed, with great improvements, from an old Spanish novel,

called, *An account of the Life of the Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, who is introduced by name in Lesage's narrative. It is worthy of remark, that no credit is given even for this open plagiarism. The apologue of the two travelling students and the soul of the licentiate Pedro Garcias, alluded to above, is also borrowed, with alterations, from the preface to the same work. In the old version, the inscription consists of the Latin phrase, *Conditur unio*, repeated; and the sagacious student, on lifting up the stone, finds a valuable pearl. The anecdote is vastly improved, as it stands in the French; but for the reason stated above, it is probable that the improvement was made by the writer of the Spanish manuscript, as the new inscription was not fully understood, or correctly given, by Lesage himself. But whether the French editor did or did not add any or all of the episodes, is a secondary question, the main point being to determine the origin of the leading narrative which constitutes the substantial part of the novel. If we admit, on the grounds detailed above, that this was translated by Lesage from an unpublished manuscript, the further question will then arise, how so remarkable and valuable a manuscript should have come into his hands, and whether there are any traces in France or Spain of its having existed. On these points, Llorente has a theory, which, though not quite so satisfactory as the first, is still ingenious, and we think, on the whole, probable; and of which, at the risk of being tedious, we shall add a brief outline.

The novel of *Gil Blas* was published by Lesage in three distinct portions, at several times; the first two volumes, in 1715; the third, in 1720; and the fourth and last, in 1735. In the year 1738, he published the novel entitled the *Bachelor of Salamanca*, which he stated, in the title page, to be *taken from an unpublished Spanish manuscript*. This manuscript, of which the existence is thus avowed, is the one which Llorente supposes to have been, in its primitive state, the original *Gil Blas*. His theory is, that it contained in the first instance the substance of both these novels; that Lesage wrought up the materials gradually into the four volumes that appeared, under the title of *Gil Blas*, as his own composition; and, finally, published the last portion as an avowed translation. By this management, he expected to secure the credit of the authorship of the work, and remove the suspicions of such as knew of his possessing a manuscript of this kind. He is supposed to have

obtained it through the agency of the Abbé Jules de Lyonne, son of the Marquis de Lyonue, ambassador extraordinary of Louis the Fourteenth at the court of Madrid, and afterwards secretary of state under the same king. The Marquis was a person of literary taste and accomplishments, and collected while at Madrid an extensive and valuable Spanish library, which included a number of manuscripts. The library, on the death of the Marquis, came into possession of his son, the Abbé Jules, who was an intimate friend of Lesage. He allowed the latter the free use of his books during his life, and on his death, which happened in 1721, bequeathed to him the aforesaid manuscripts. The collection itself now forms a part of the royal library at Paris. Such are the facts stated by Llorente, and as they are of a nature to be publicly known, they may probably be received as certain. They show satisfactorily enough how Lesage might have acquired a manuscript similar to the one supposed, and the existence of which, he in fact avows. It has sometimes been said, by way of accounting for the intimate acquaintance with Spanish literature and manners displayed in his works, that he had been for several years attached to the French embassy at Madrid ; but this statement seems to be an error, founded on a confused notion of his connexion with the Lyonne family. The Marquis went to Spain as ambassador in the year 1650, twelve years before Lesage was born ; and it appears from the dates of his books, which succeeded each other, with short intermissions, from 1695 till his death, that he could not at any period of his life have been absent for any length of time from France.

These facts serve to show how Lesage obtained his Spanish manuscripts. The probability of the identity of the Bachelor of Salamanca and Gil Blas, is established by Llorente on the following grounds. The general plan is the same. They both consist of a series of adventures occurring to a hero taken from the lower walks of life, and interspersed with episodical narratives. The time of the action is precisely the same in both. The hero rises in each from a rather humble condition to that of confidential secretary to the prime minister. Gil Blas fills this station during the ministry of the Duke of Lerma, is involved in his disgrace, and recovers his former post under the long reign of Olivares. The Bachelor, on the other hand, figures at court precisely during the short period of the ministry of the Duke of Useda, son and successor of the Duke of

Lerma, which intervened between those of his father and Olivares. The style of the two works is very similar; and although the Bachelor, taken as a whole, is decidedly inferior in effect to *Gil Blas*, the parts of it which on this theory are supposed to belong to the original manuscript, such as the adventures of Doña Francisca and those of the Bachelor in New Spain, are more powerful than the rest, and approach most nearly in merit to the other work. On the other hand, the parts of the Bachelor, in which, on this theory, the adventures of the original hero are brought out a second time with variations, are comparatively feeble, but still bear a singular resemblance, even in the language, to the corresponding passages in *Gil Blas*. Thus, to give a single instance of this analogy, *Gil Blas* is maintained when a boy, by a rich but avaricious uncle, who is a canon at Oviedo, and the Bachelor is, in like manner, supported by a rich and avaricious relation, who is a doctor of the University of Salamanca. At the same period in the lives of their respective *protégés*, both these persons become fatigued with the trouble and expense of educating them, and send them out into the world to seek their fortunes, addressing them on the occasion in language substantially and almost literally the same. This and several other correspondences of a similar kind, afford something like decisive proof in favor of the theory. We incline, on the whole, to admit it as probable, since such correspondence can hardly be reconciled with any other; but the evidence is not so complete as that which establishes the main proposition. On this system, Lesage, after publishing the leading narrative, including most of the principal incidents, wrote over again the early part of the same narrative, in an abridged and altered form, for the purpose of bringing out two or three of the more important adventures that he had reserved. There are some positive, though not insurmountable difficulties in the way of this theory which we have not room to consider.

Not content with proving that the work is a translation from the Spanish, and even indicating the precise manuscript from which it was borrowed, Llorente goes further, and undertakes to determine with certainty the name of the original author. He enumerates thirtyeight persons, who lived at Madrid about the middle of the seventeenth century, when he supposes the novel to have been written; and after weighing the probabilities in favor of each, finally fixes on Don Antonio de Solis, a writer of considerable eminence in his day, and known to the public

by his History of the Conquest of Mexico. There is little or no direct evidence, internal or external, in support of this supposition; but considered as a mere conjecture, it is certainly plausible. There are several circumstances in the history and character of Antonio de Solis, which are likely to have concurred in the author of *Gil Blas*, and which could hardly be expected to meet in two several persons living at the same time. Solis was a dramatic poet of great repute. He is declared by Nicolás Antonio to be quite equal, if not superior, to the very best that preceded him, including Calderon and Lope de Vega. He was also versed in historical inquiries, as appears from his published writings; and he wrote in prose with great ease and elegance. The events of his own life are similar to those which form the ground work of the latter part of *Gil Blas*. He was secretary to the Count de Oropesa, in his successive viceroyalties of Navarre and Valencia, and was afterwards appointed one of the under secretaries (*oficiales*) in the department of state in the ministry of Don Luis de Haro, successor to Olivares. If we suppose, what is pretty clear from external evidence, that the last volumes of *Gil Blas* shadow out the personal adventures of the author, it will follow that he must have occupied at the time when Antonio de Solis was in the department of state, some post of the same description. He must also, like Solis, have been an elegant prose writer, well versed in polite literature and familiar with history; and as he has laid in the kingdom of Valencia the scene of a part of the incidents supposed to have happened to himself, it is probable that he had also resided in that part of Spain.

It is easy to imagine why Solis, if he were in fact the author, should not wish to publish at Madrid a novel, which describes, in a very free manner, the secret history of the court for thirty years immediately preceding, while Philip the Fourth, who figures in the work, and to whom he was under great obligations, was still on the throne. Just at this time the Marquis de Lyonne was sent ambassador to Spain, by Louis the Fourteenth. Being a person of literary taste and accomplishments, he would naturally form an acquaintance with an eminent writer employed in the department with which he transacted business, and might easily be supposed to have obtained from Solis a communication of the manuscript, and to have taken a copy or purchased the original. There is, therefore, a remarkable chain of presumptive evidence in support of this

supposition; but as it is not sustained by any direct proof, it can only be received as a plausible conjecture. The unhesitating manner in which the worthy Inquisitor affirms it as a positive fact, seems to argue a rather imperfect notion of the nature and comparative weight of the different sorts of evidence. The exact degree of probability belonging to this theory, might be estimated by calculating on the usual mathematical principles the chances, that all the circumstances that have been just been set forth should concur in two different persons. We have not room to work out the problem, and recommend it to the attention of that ingenious portion of the public, who are in the habit of solving questions for the magazines and newspapers. We are inclined to believe, that a correct process would give a result of at least a hundred to one in favor of Don Antonio.

We must here close our remarks upon the authorship of this novel, having already protracted them to a much greater length than we originally intended. It was our purpose to add a few suggestions upon the character and merit of the work; but we have no space left, and they would also be nearly superfluous. No production of its class is more universally known, or more highly valued by good judges, as a faithful, spirited, and finished picture of real life, than *Gil Blas*. These qualities give it a substantial moral and literary value, independent of the passing fashions and capricious taste that prevail temporarily from age to age. It is one of some half a dozen books of the same kind, that have survived the general wreck of the libraries of romance, which were published in Europe during the last century; and having stood this dangerous ordeal, it may now be considered as forming a part of the standard and classical literature of the modern world. It will probably be read a thousand years hence with as much interest as it is now; and the present article, should it appear to elucidate in any degree the question we have been considering, may be perused at that time perhaps with as much satisfaction, as if it contained an essay on the merits of the woollen bill, or a new theory in political economy.

ART. III.—*Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhara, fait in 1820, à travers les Steppes qui s'étendent à l'est de la Mer d'Aral et au delà de l'ancien Iaxartes, rédigé par M. LE BARON GEORGES MEYENDORFF, Colonel à l'Etat-Major de S. M. l'Empereur de Toutes les Russies, et revu par le Chevalier Amédée Jaubert, etc.* 8vo. pp. 497. Paris. 1826.

FEW are the recent accounts of the countries and tribes of Central Asia, and especially of Bukharia. None had come to our knowledge, concerning their actual relations with Russia, till the perusal of Baron de Meyendorff's instructive and interesting narrative. To the admirers of Mr Moore's poetry, and particularly Lalla Rookh, we presume that the name of Bukharia will at first not be unwelcome. But having paid the above compliment to M. de Meyendorff, we think ourselves bound in conscience to say, that he is surely not so agreeable a poet as Mr Moore, though for what we know, he may be as judicious a critic as Fadladeen; that his journey to the city of Bukharia had quite a different object from that of 'Tulip Cheek's' to the 'unequalled valley;' that the cavalcade and expedition of which we shall be the brief historians, are vastly plainer than the cavalcade described even in the prose of Mr Moore; and that the 'Journey from Orenburg to Bukhara' will altogether seem prodigiously 'prosy' to such as have just read, for the second or third time, the 'oriental romance.'

From the latter half of the seventeenth century, frequent intercourse had existed between Russia and Bukharia. Embassies from the Khan had arrived upon several occasions at the court of St Petersburg, and two, which reached that capital in 1816 and 1820, solicited the imperial government to honor the Khan with a diplomatic mission. In June, 1820, the late emperor resolved at length upon listening to these entreaties, and a counsellor of state, M. de Negri, was appointed chargé d'affaires. His retinue was considerably more numerous, than those which usually follow diplomatic agents. Besides a secretary of legation, and a physician, already distinguished in the scientific world by his researches in natural history, there was a colonel of the imperial staff (the author of the work before us), and two lieutenants of the same corps, who were especially commissioned to collect geographical and statistical information concerning the countries through which the

embassy should pass; and there was also an escort of two hundred cosacks, two hundred infantry, twentyfive Baschkir troopers, two field pieces, and three hundred and fiftyeight camels for the conveyance of the baggage and provisions, besides as many belonging to merchants of Bukharia, who gladly availed themselves of so strong a protection to return to their homes, with more security than they commonly have of escaping pillage and murder from the Kirguisians and the Khivians, their roving and less civilized neighbors. We must yet add to this long list, four hundred horses belonging to the officers and men, and partly destined for the waggons. The company had to pass two months in traversing a desert, where in some parts even water cannot be found, and must be conveyed over considerable distances. Bridges, or means of supplying their place, for the passage of unfordable rivers, must also be carried. This was consequently more like the long, dreary, and dangerous pilgrimage of the Macedonian Alexander to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, than the easy, sunny, speedy, dovelike flight of ordinary diplomatists, 'with olive branches in their hands,' in our days, when a train of seven servants, such as Scipio Æmilianus carried with him on his embassy, is not considered so small as in Montaigne's time, who cites it as a proof of the parsimony of the ancients.

The company was to assemble at Orenburg, which is two thousand two hundred wersts (one thousand four hundred and sixtysix English miles) from St Petersburg. More time than was calculated upon was spent in preparation, and the diplomatic expedition did not leave Orenburg before the tenth of October, a very advanced season for that climate. This delay was occasioned by sundry circumstances; the camels did not arrive at the time contracted for, and the exportation of Russian money being prohibited, it was necessary to collect ducats, and of that currency neither in Orenburg, nor anywhere else nearer than Moscow, could a sufficient quantity be found to exchange the seventytwo thousand roubles, which composed the funds of the expedition. However, in that interval of time, an additional security for their march through the desert was procured by the diligence of the governor general of Orenburg. A powerful Kirguisian chief was induced to accompany them to the banks of the Sir, better known by the classical name of Iaxartes, with a hundred of his most devoted followers.

On the morning of their departure, the company passed under

the inspection of the governor general, and attended a solemn and impressive church service. We are left to imagine the diversity of feelings with which the travellers set out upon their journey. Our author merely alludes to his presentiments of the dangers that might await him and his companions. At any rate, no great variety or pleasantness of objects is mentioned in the '*feuille de route*,' or itinerary table, in which the events of the expedition are synoptically recorded. Their day's journey was never less than seventeen, nor more than fortysix wersts, and the objects they met with were 'water,' 'a little water,' 'a little grass,' 'shrubs,' 'a few shrubs;' and sometimes the registered note is still more gloomy; as, for example, 'no water.' They passed across sundry rivers and brooks, and near several lakes or ponds. Downs, wells, and nameless spots are marked as resting places.

It is not our intention to dwell much upon the gloom of a sandy savanna. A desert is shortly described, when it is only intended to trace its true features. The striking picture of desolateness, with which the '*Tales of the Crusaders*' opens, would not be altogether proper in the relation of a journey. Masterly as is the short graphic sketch of the 'huge continuous heaths' which Baillie Nicol Jarvie, Frank Osbaldistone, and Andrew, toiled through, on their journey from Glasgow to the retreat of Rob Roy, it may have the further merit of being a true picture. But our author has in no manner emulated Sir Walter, and we need not vainly attempt to do it for him.

However, the spirit-depressing sketch, with which Baron Meyendorff closes his first chapter, only indicates, it seems, the resting or halting places. For, in the account at large, he mentions spots where he found not only some straggling trees, but thickets, and poplars, and willows. On the banks of the Ileik, which they reached the seventh day after their departure from Orenburg, they had, besides that refreshing sight, a view of the tents of a large company of Kirguisians, who watched a flock of five or six thousand sheep. The tents were of different sizes and various colors, but all made of felt, and pitched at irregular distances; here three, there four or six together, and about fifty in the whole. Such a meeting, by mere casualty, would have encouraged the hope of more such pleasing incidents. But it was soon discovered, that the tented Kirguisians were the followers of the Soldan, who had promised to accompany the Russians to the river Sir, and, though probably

a welcome increase to the company, might charm them less than if they had accidentally been brought together.

The Soldan's readiness to oblige the Russian government was not wholly disinterested. It was important to him to conciliate its good will, on account of his feuds with the Khan of Khiva. The day after the meeting, he came on horseback to pay a visit to M. de Negri, and was accompanied by about a hundred Kirguisians. He wore a turban, a covering rarely seen in the desert, and considered an extraordinary proof of piety in such a region. His followers pushed forward into the interior of the tent of the chargé d'affaires, and none remained without, as long as there was room for any within, and those that had got in immediately stretched themselves on the ground. The Soldan was distinguished from his clan by his clear complexion, his sparkling black eyes, and a mild, though serious expression of countenance, which, at the same time, bespoke much sense. He remained an hour and a half with his new acquaintance.

The Kirguisians, so far as we can judge of their habits, manners, and political situation, from the rapid survey of our author, are essentially a wandering and pastoral people. Agriculture has yet made little progress, and it is a common proverb with them, that they would lose their freedom, as soon as they should abandon their present mode of life for husbandry and a steady settlement. To be unrestrained in moving from one post to another; to leave nowhere traces of activity and industry; to change their residence, according to the variations of the season, or even caprice, is with them liberty. However, the dwellings of the dead fix their affections to some localities. The burying places, 'the cities of the silent,' are commonly on the tops of hills or eminences, and heaps of stones indicate the last abode of their distinguished dead. The more delicate sex is charged with all the domestic duties, which, however, must be very few in so erratic a life. Revenge and cruelty are the most prominent moral features of this people. Their penal jurisprudence, even in punishing crimes, is degraded by these vices; and cruelty 'plucks justice by the nose' among them, as liberty did sometimes with no better grace elsewhere. Immediately after the meeting of the Russians with the Kirguisians, an instance occurred of this profanation of justice. A Kirguisian had stolen a horse, and was, according to the precepts of the Koran, condemned to

death. The elders of the tribe applied to the Soldan for his pardon, representing that such an act of mercy would be considered as a happy omen of the new union with the Russians, and call the protection of Providence on the expedition in which they were jointly about to engage. The chief consented ; but the remission, whether with his approbation or not, was but partial. The culprit, half naked, and with a piece of black felt round his neck, was compelled by two men on horseback with lashes, to run afoot to the next tent, there to be besmeared with soot, and in this plight to pass afterwards through the ranks of his countrymen, holding between his teeth a rope attached to the tail of a steed, which was kept in a constant trot, while he received on his back, blows and strokes with whips. This ceremony, accompanied with loud laughter, wild shrieks, curses, and threats, betrayed the disapprobation which his pardon had met with among the larger number of his compeers. After this castigation, he went to the chief to thank him and to promise never to steal again. Yet his own horse suffered the fate which he had so narrowly escaped. The poor animal's head was instantly chopped off, and the flesh was distributed, amidst the noise of dispute and mutual broils, insults and hard blows. The slaughter of the beast may be in such a case a sign of infamy, rather than a pecuniary penalty. In a primitive state of society, theft is a crime little less than murder ; but it bears the character of such a crime only when committed among kindred, or, as Baillie Jarvie said, 'hawks winna pike out hawks' een.' The perpetration of the same crime upon foreigners, assumes the name of military prowess and gallant action. Mutual protection against foreign attack, and the duty of defending a chief, are as strictly observed among the wandering Kirguisians, as among the feudatory nations of Europe in remote centuries. Towards their captives they are very cruel. While the Russian expedition was approaching the banks of the Sir, about a hundred Kirguisians, who formed its van, fell upon the clan of another Kirguisian chief, in revenge of his having attached himself to the party of the Khan of Khiva. The chief himself escaped by flight ; but his wives and his brother being taken captives, the former suffered the most revolting cruelties, and the illfated prince, who was not above twentytwo years of age, was at first obliged to follow the vanquishers mounted on the most worthless horse that could be picked up, and at last, upon the request of one of the barba-

rians, who called upon the leader to revenge the death of his sons, that had been slain in a recent encounter with the Khivians, the captive prince was shot at from behind, while on his jade, and not being hit, several of the tribe at last fell upon him, stripped him of his garments, and deaf to his piteous prayers, butchered him like a sheep, and then, not content with his death, pierced with their lances his lifeless body.

The Kirguisians have several degrees of authority. Wealth, numerous connexions, and color are the principal recommendations to offices of command. Advanced age is also a good claim, and one class of their chiefs bear the honorary title of *Elders*. Hereditary dignities are lost, when the incumbent becomes unworthy of confidence and respect; and even the Soldans, who are relatives of the Khan or Supreme Chief, lose their ascendancy, if they are destitute of personal merit. The authority of the Khan, although unbounded by law, is somewhat checked in practice by public opinion. A despised chief is soon abandoned. The principal duties of the Khan consist in the maintenance of established usages and the laws of the Koran, in the interpretation of which he is assisted by a Mollah, whom he is, of course, careful to choose among his most devoted adherents. But nothing would be able to secure his authority against the caprice and inconstancy of his people, if he could not gain their attachment by activity, courage, and hazardous enterprises, or if he should show himself deficient in promptitude, when he is expected to be a severe and inexorable judge.

The Kirguisians are divided into three hordes, one of which is called by way of distinction, the 'great horde.' It has no Khan, and obeys the authority of several Soldans, some of whom alternately invoke the protection of China and Russia, merely to obtain presents. The two other hordes have made their submission to the latter empire, inasmuch as their Khans must be confirmed by the emperor, and swear fidelity and allegiance to him, but without paying tribute. The great horde consists of six hundred and fifty thousand individuals, the middle horde of three hundred and sixty thousand, and the small horde of two hundred and fifty thousand. The Chinese government has acted with much severity towards the great horde, and in consequence its frontiers have been more secure from their invasions. The Kirguisians have frequent feuds with the Khivians, and sometimes make incursions into Bukharia.

Our author tells us of a singular mode by which a Kirgusian chief declared war against the first minister of the latter country, upon an occasion not very remote. Having cut off the tail of his horse, he carried it to Bokhara,* and addressed to the minister these words; 'So as this tail has been severed from my horse, I detach myself from thee, and thou shalt find in me an implacable enemy.'

M. de Meyendorff gives, in a prose translation, some specimens of the rude *extempore* poetry of the Kirgusians. If a lady of the desert may be allowed to sing the praises of her own person (and we see no reason why such a privilege should be denied her), the following song will not seem destitute of beauty; and such a mixture of conceit, innocence, and simplicity, is not unamusing. 'Thou seest the snow; well, my body is whiter. The blood of the lamb, that tinges the snow, is not more crimson than my cheeks. Pass yonder mountain, and thou shalt see a burnt tree, but my hair is darker. In the Soldan's tent thou mayest meet many Mollahs busy in writing, yet their ink is paler than my eyebrows.' The Kirgusians have also professional minstrels, who chant the deeds of their heroes. Naturally inclined to melancholy reveries, and often sunk in languor, they are sometimes seen seated upon a stone, gazing in a contemplative mood at the moon, and singing in an affecting tone words breathing tenderness and soft passions.

The expedition, in advancing further towards the south, met with a milder climate, but the country was throughout sandy and uneven, except in some places where the hillocks rose to a height that presented a prospect over a vast extent, which appeared as naked, desert, and dismal in the distance, as it did nearer the spectator. Whether by evaporation, or in consequence of the nature of the soil, a river had disappeared. The wells were dried up, or had been choked to deprive the roving Khivians of water. However, several species of animals existed, where water and vegetation were almost entirely wanting; they were suited to so desolate a scene; various sorts of lizards, camelions, land tortoises, rats, vultures, and birds of a bluish color, smaller but otherwise not unlike rooks. The mildness of the climate, on approaching the Sir, must be somewhat qualified,

* The name of the country is written *Bukharia*, and that of the capital city, *Bokhara*.

for the river was frozen on the 19th of November ; but the crust of ice was so thin, that it was necessary to cross with great caution. In June the snow begins to melt on the adjoining heights, by which the river overflows and fertilizes the neighboring lands. The expedition met on the river three large Kirguisian boats, which conveyed their provisions for a moderate remuneration. These boats, though roughly built of poplar, without any nailing, had come from Khiva through the Aral sea, and our author says, that this intercourse between the Sir and Khiva is constantly pursued with a view of profit, by poor Kirguisians, who consider it as a coasting trade. It would seem that the retrocession of the Aral is prodigiously rapid, for some Kirguisians assured our travellers, that their fathers yet remembered to have seen that sea in places whence it is now distant about sixty wersts. One of the bays of the Sir had, in the space of one year, diminished three wersts in its eastern direction. It was on the borders of this sea, that Bernardin de St Pierre, in his youthful and wild reveries, hoped to found a republic.

The expedition passed that part of the vast plain called 'steppes,' or savannas, where, as late as 1806, a tribe of Calmuck origin, known as the Kara-Kapalcs, had dwelt, and which might have become by culture a kind of *oasis* in this desert. The Kara-Kapalcs, who were poor and too feeble to contend with their Kirguisian neighbors, had petitioned in 1740, for succors from Russia, Bukharia, and Khiva, and not obtaining any from either country, they at last abandoned their territory, and incorporated themselves into the two latter nations. Straggling individuals, or small parties of them, are still found south of the Aral sea, in the region between Samarcand and the banks of the Oxus, and north of Sarewchan.

On the banks of the Djan-deria, remains of old habitations are frequently met with, which seem to have been built of bricks dried in the sun. Vestiges of canals six feet in width and two in depth are in the vicinity ; and here and there are scattered fragments of earthen basins. The Kirguisians have but vague traditional information of the former inhabitants. They spoke of them by the name of Nogais. Forty wersts from the mouth of the Sir, and between that river and the Kuwan, existed a town entire, built of bricks, and surrounded with arable lands and canals for their irrigation. From the Djan-deria our travellers proceeded towards Bokhara, upon a

road much frequented, and daily met with Kirguisian caravans returning from that capital with barley, oatmeal, tobacco, cotton stuffs, and cloths, which they had obtained in exchange for sheep.

The expedition emerged, at length, from sandy plains into mountainous districts, which are said to contain gold, or metals that are like it in color. Here they found in some places wells that supplied them with good water, and in others, springs of a sulphurous, saline, and nauseous taste. At last, at about eight days' march from Bokhara, they met four customhouse officers of the Khan, who informed them that provisions were in readiness for them at Aghatma. On approaching the village they were addressed by a military commander at the head of twenty troopers, with the Khan's welcome and offers of provisions. After several of them had shaken hands with M. de Negri they galloped off in great haste. Their horses were beautiful, swift, and full of fire. The regimentals of the soldiers consisted of white turbans and long and loose robes of various colors and stuffs, some of striped China silk, others of cloth; and not a few of these warriors were clad in camel's wool, or covered with mail down to the waist. The provisions sent by the Khan consisted of bread, raisins, melons, and pomegranates, which were great luxuries for travellers whose food for seventy days had almost exclusively been dry biscuits. The horses were fed with a white grain of the size and form of lentils, which proved fatal to many of them.

At once the country assumed a quite different appearance from that of the territories through which the embassy had hitherto journeyed. Cultivated fields, canals, walks lined with trees, villages, orchards, gardens, mosques and minarets repeatedly cheered the eye; and well might the author feel, after such a sudden change, what he so emphatically expresses by saying, 'that one could have thought himself transported into fairy land.' All was bustle and stir. Thousands on foot and on horses or asses, swarmed around the northern strangers, and astonished them not more by their dresses, than by their eager curiosity. Some greeted the travellers in the Russian language, and all seemed to vie in welcoming them in the most affectionate manner. It was like a national festivity, and nothing might have disturbed the general hilarity and good humor, if the police officers, real 'shoulder dappers,' had not with professional alertness, interposed their staves to check the joy, under the

pretence of clearing a passage for the Russians, and of marshalling the procession. The author expresses feelingly the painful impressions awakened in him and his countrymen, by the sight of some Russian soldiers, who were reduced to the lamentable condition of slaves. They were advanced in age, and invalids, yet their stammering voices and their tears showed clearly enough, that the memory of home and the love of country were not extinguished in their breasts.

A Penda-bachi, or commander of five hundred troopers, had been sent by the Khan to welcome and escort the embassy. With a detachment of two hundred horsemen, he accompanied the chargé d'affaires and his suite to the dwelling of the principal civil officer, who waited at the next village, with a courtly message. On the way the company passed through files of infantry, who were lying on the ground, until the travellers approached. Tents of various colors were pitched at some distance. Horses with gorgeous caparisons, groups of officers, and numerous slaves moving to and fro, were signs of their proximity to the dwelling of the Khan's emissary. The conversation between him and the chargé d'affaires of the Imperial court, had principally for its object the arrangement of the ceremonial for the presentation of the latter to the Khan. Although there could not be such pretensions on the part of that prince, as are met with from the court of Pekin, yet some difficulties occurred. They were at length adjusted in a very complimentary way to the Russian government. But the chapter of presents lay closer to the heart of the Tartar negotiator than the court ceremonies. He inquired eagerly what the presents were, and made no scruple to ask, in his master's name, for the two Russian fieldpieces, but in vain. He was obliged to be contented with watches, furs, porcelain, crystal vessels, and muskets. The envoy of the Khan was a no less personage than his principal minister, or Couch-beghi. He was about fifty years of age, tall, and of an engaging countenance. He spoke Persian with fluency. His attire consisted of a Cashmere nether garment, over which he wore a pelisse of sable and a shawl. His white turban was of the same precious cloth.

In the three last days of their march, the expedition passed through a well cultivated and well peopled country, and several towns, where again the curiosity of the inhabitants was blended with much good nature and joy. Another deputation, one of the

members of which was a relative of the Khan, brought complimentary letters from that prince ; and at some further distance this welcome was repeated by a military detachment. The ceremonies being finally agreed upon, the chargé d'affaires made his entry into Bokhara on the 20th of December, with all his train, and preceded by some of his Cossack detachment. After having threaded a narrow and winding street, formed by miserable houses built of mud, and with flat roofs, they reached a large square, adorned with mosques and other public buildings. The author describes minutely the courts, vaulted passages, and rooms through which the procession passed; but after having noticed the three or four hundred Bukharians, with their white turbans and robes of gold brocade, whom he found seated near the entrance of the Khan's levee room, we shall at once drop into it, to have the sooner done with the description of the court ceremonies, full of mock majesty, and of the Khan's person.

The Khan was seated near the wall, opposite the entrance, on cushions of scarlet cloth embossed with gold embroidery. At his left were two of his sons, the elder of whom might be fifteen, and at his right, the great civil officer who had been commissioned to salute the embassy. Two chamberlains supported the chargé d'affaires, who, after having approached within ten steps of the Khan, delivered his credentials to the minister and then took his seat, which was, we may believe, the difficult point of the ceremony, and the Gordian knot of the preliminary negotiations. The members of the embassy remained standing near the wall. The Khan, after having taken from the hands of his minister the imperial letter, which probably was in Persian, read it aloud, and when he had concluded it, intimated a wish to see some of the Russian soldiers. They were immediately ushered into the saloon, but without their weapons ; as soon as the Khan saw them, he burst into a childish laugh, and our author adds, that the expression of his countenance generally bespoke little intelligence. He was a man of about fortyfive, with a handsome beard, black eyes, an olive complexion, and the general expression of an emaciated voluptuary. His khalaat, or upper robe, was of black velvet adorned with gems. His muslin turban was surmounted by a tuft of white heron feathers and diagonally trimmed with a golden loop or knot, resembling much that of the great dignitaries of the Ottoman empire. The Bukharian premier and three

other grandees wore, instead of turbans, bonnets of a cylindrical shape, and made of sable. The master of ceremonies was distinguished by a kind of halbert with a silver axe. The presents were shown to the Khan, and afterwards carried into an adjoining room. The audience lasted about twenty minutes. The saloon was twice as long as it was broad, the walls plastered, the ceiling of painted boards, and the carpet which covered the whole floor, though of Persian web, was anything but splendid.

We must refer to the work itself for many valuable details about the geography of central Asia. A journey to a particular country bears the same relation to general geography, that biography bears to universal history. But unfortunately the two latter are often most viciously confounded, so that the life of a statesman or a player, swells to the historical account of events and times, that are connected with the principal subject by a very slender and scarcely visible thread; and not seldom a traveller, without confining himself to the praiseworthy task of describing what he has seen and heard, impertinently repeats what he has read. In the work before us, treating of countries yet little visited, and whose history is as little known, the author deserves thanks rather than censure for his digressions in time and space.

The general aspect of Bukharia, and especially of the province of Sogd, is that of a well cultivated country, covered in some parts with a superabundant population. Villages and towns embowered with trees, containing from a hundred to a thousand inhabitants, contribute to the picturesque effect of the scenery, and are situated near canals constructed for irrigating the neighboring fields. Some of the villages are encircled with walls, the towers of which appear to advantage through the thick foliage. The climate is salubrious, though very hot in the summer, but the winters are generally mild. Tempestuous winds are frequent, and so much the more troublesome, as the fine sand which covers the surface of the ground, is injurious to the eyes. Ophthalmy is so common a disease, that the father of the reigning Khan has provided for a hospital at Bokhara, where fifty individuals can be tended, two or three being lodged in each of the cells built around a mosque.

Baron Meyendorff enumerates a goodly number of cities, all seated on the banks of rivers, and encompassed by cultivated fields. Among them is Samarcanda, the ancient residence of Timur, which was once an independent Khanat, but was

annexed to Bukharia in the latter part of the sixteenth century. In this city, at each change of reign, ceremonies equivalent to a coronation take place; the new Khan seating himself on a square bluish marble stone, deposited in one of the colleges, and covered with a large piece of white felt, which is thrice lifted by the representatives of certain classes of the state. Samarcanda has about fifty thousand inhabitants. The colleges of this city are built of white marble, of which there are quarries in the neighborhood, and exceed in splendor those of Bokhara. The fronts of these edifices are of varnished tiles. The tomb of Timur, which still exists, is of jasper, but no traces remain of the observatory which was once among the wonders of Samarcanda.

Bokhara, the capital of the country, surnamed the Scientific by the orientalists, was taken by the Arabs in 699; and after having been from 896 to 998 in a flourishing state, under the dynasty of the Samanides, who resided there, was pillaged and burnt by the rapacious followers of Djenghis-Khan, who did not rebuild it till towards the end of his life. Under Timur it rose to new splendor for a while, until the Uzbeks again frightened away the arts and sciences from its walls. The external view of the city is pleasingly striking. In the midst of alleys of trees and groves, bordering on a small lake surrounded with summer dwellings, arise, side by side, or piled above each other, domes, mosques, minarets, the pointed walls of the colleges, the palace, and the embattled rampart which incloses the whole city. All this seems grand, imposing, and beautiful at the distance of a few miles, when the distinct outlines of edifices peep through the openings in a confused and massy foliage of various tints; but the interior, except the baths, the palace, the mosques, and the colleges, present only flat-roofed houses built of greyish clay and thatched, forming crooked and narrow streets; that are neither pleasing by neatness, nor laid out in a manner to compensate by distant views what the proximity wants in beauty, regularity, and grandeur. The houses, as in some cities in China, have their windows looking upon the inner courts and dead walls upon the streets, which are without pavement, except where a few large stones irregularly scattered attest that such a convenience has once existed.

Nearly in the centre of the city, upon a hill of about five hundred paces in diameter at the base, and raised by human labor to the height of about two hundred and forty feet, is the

palace of the Khan. It is surrounded by a wall of sixty feet in height, with no more than one gate, the entrance of which is built of brick, and has on its two sides two towers eighty feet high, which bear yet some traces of the painted and varnished tiles that once covered them, and upon which storks have enjoyed temporary habitations in more recent times. A vaulted corridor leads to the top of the eminence, where, near the dwellings of the Khan and his children, are the harem, half hid by trees, a mosque, the office and mansion of the principal minister, and the lodging of the slaves, the guardhouse, and the stables.

The most striking specimen of architecture in the city is a minaret one hundred and eighty feet high, and seventytwo feet in circumference at the base, and diminishing gradually to the top. It has a pleasing air, at once of lightness and grandeur. Wells being so characteristic a feature in a picture like that which we are sketching, we must not omit to mention the sixtyeight reservoirs of Bokhara, the water of which is supplied by a canal running through the whole city. There are, moreover, three hundred and sixty mosques and sixty *medressés*, or colleges, scattered within the walls. The architecture of the former is more varied than that of the latter, and both classes of edifices resemble Moorish structures in their arches. The front of the mosque facing the palace, is adorned with tiles of various colors, and so combined as to represent flowers, or to compose verses of the Koran. The largest college was built at the expense of the Empress Catherine, whose name is yet gratefully venerated by the Bukharians. There are fourteen caravansaries, which are not only lodging houses, but also the principal repositories for every description of merchandise. From these places goods are daily carried to the shops and booths that line some of the largest streets. The traffic in the capital is multifarious and divided ; here one meets exclusively ladies' slippers, and there golden diadems with turquoises, a part of the Kirgisian female's head dress ; here, whole stalls are filled with sweetmeats, confectionary, and fruits, and invite the passing rambler by the savor of highly seasoned rice, and there the eye is caught by turquoises and rubies from Arabia and the Bada Kschan lake ; while yonder chapman solicits voluptuous senses with frankincense and all sorts of oriental spices. There are besides many large and vaulted houses, or rather long arcades, with numerous entrances and lined with shelves,

upon which the silks manufactured at Bokhara are offered for sale. But the most seducing of these magazines are those, where the gorgeous brocades of India, Persia, and Russia, and the printed linen cloth of these countries, as well as of England, allure the fairest eyes. Notwithstanding all these buildings and all this display and traffic, everything, in the opinion of our author, proves that Bokhara was once more prosperous, more splendid, and better governed than now, if the ancient accounts be true. The city consists of about eight thousand houses, and the number of its inhabitants is rated at seventy thousand, of which two thirds are Tadjiks (descendants of the conquered Scythian nation), who are mostly engaged in lucrative pursuits. The population of Bukharia divides itself, like that of China, into the two great classes of conquerors and conquered; the former being the Uzbeks, and the latter the Tadjiks. The spirit which ensures victory, and the violence which commonly follows it; the dejection which occasions defeat and long survives it, are now as distinguishable in these two tribes as in times nearer the final issue of their struggle. The Uzbek is still braver, still fonder of enterprise, than the Tadjik. Stimulated neither by patriotism nor honor, he is, nevertheless, continually spurred to new adventures by the excitement of success, the love of dominion, and the thirst for rapine. His praise of the vanquished nation seems rather the effect of condescension and indulgence, than of a rational fellow feeling. But if the conqueror is haughty and disdainful, the conquered is industrious and thrifty; and if the one is proud, the other is wealthy. Yet both nations have peculiarities in common, which are far from recommending the victors to admiration, or the vanquished to esteem. They are both deceitful, covetous, revengeful; and Mahommedan despotism, which rules both, keeps them in the abasement of the same vices. The proportion of the Uzbeks to the Tadjiks is, however, such, that the latter may be considered subjected and pressed down by superiority of numbers. The population of the former is estimated by our author, at one million and a half, and that of the latter at six hundred and fifty thousand. The whole population he estimates at two million four hundred and seventy-eight thousand,* of which one

* Pagnozzi, in his valuable '*Geografia Moderna Universale*,' &c. (Vol. i. fas. 2 do. Firenze, 1822), a work well worthy to be translated into the English language, estimates the population of the Great Bukharia only at 1,240,000. Malte-Brun more cautiously says, 'Our in-

million have no fixed abode. In this number are included two thousand Gypsies, who are in Bukharia, as everywhere else, fortunetellers, and, what commonly accompanies the trade of mystery, agents of vice. There are about four thousand Jews. The Arabs, of whom there are nearly fifty thousand, are easily recognised by their tawny complexion, live in villages near the capital, and are descendants of the families who came into the country under the government of the Kalifs. Numbers of them rove in more distant districts. The Turcomans, next to the Tadjiks, the most numerous class of the population (about two hundred thousand), are distinguished from the Uzbeks by their large hairy faces. The most considerable of their tribes is nomadic; those who dwell upon the banks of the Amoo, cultivate rice; they are generally poorer than the Kirguisians in what the Asiatic pastoral nations value as the principal branch of wealth, namely, horses. Finally, they pay tribute to the Khan.

Agriculture would be in a most prosperous state in Bukharia, were its progress not arrested by the roving habits of a great part of the population, and by the scantiness of water. This latter inconvenience is, however, as far as possible, remedied by canals. The soil is fertile, and the labor is chiefly performed by slaves. In a country where water is so scarce that agriculture cannot be pursued, in many parts, without canals for irrigation, and the overflow of rivers at certain seasons, officers to superintend the use of rain water are even more necessary than a good statute on watercourses among nations happier both in regard to climate and civilization. In Bukharia, as in Egypt, a public functionary orders the cleaning of the canals, watches the propitious moments of a comparative abundance of water, and inspects and regulates the irrigation of the fields, proportioning it according to their height above the level of the canals or rivers, and their necessities. Gardening in all its branches is also a favorite pursuit with the Bukharians, and variety and take characterize the laying out of their orchards and grounds.

formation on the state of population is hitherto vague.' (*Universal Geography*, ed. Boston. Vol. ii. p. 383.) Pagnozzi rates the whole population of Independent Tartary, at no more than 3,400,000, viz.

Kirguisians	1,250,000	Korasmia, Khiva,	
Turkenstans	150,000	and Khonrat	480,000
Kara-Kalpacs	130,000	Great Bukharia	1,240,000.
Turcomans	150,000		

The Bukharians have their sports and pleasures. They catch with nooses and snares, foxes and polecats, the skins of which are sent to Russia, and they fly hawks at birds, although they have greyhounds and matchlocks. They were greatly amazed at seeing their European guest kill several birds with a single discharge. However, they have no small shot, and considering the tedious process through which they go in the use of such awkward long muskets as the author describes, and which they fire stretched upon the ground, it is no wonder, indeed, that they have so little relish for field sports.

Enough has already been said of their lucrative pursuits in regard to manufactures. We may add, that dyeing is the most improved branch of their industry. Embroiderers find great encouragement, and are rivalled in their art, though rather for amusement, by the gentler sex of the capital. Much needlework is bestowed upon the caps which the men wear under their turbans, and not less on their saddle girths and housings; but this is, we suppose, the employment of the trade and of the salaried champions of the needle and the thimble. The disinterested hands of the fair adorn only handkerchiefs; and the embroidering of sweet Hafez's allegorical verses, which is not uncommon, may not always be merely a homage to the poet, whose compositions are venerated as divine by the Mussulmans. The imitation of animate objects being considered by them as an impiety, painting and sculpture cannot be very flourishing among the Bukharians. Flowers interlaced with fantastic designs, a kind of arabesque, more remarkable for the vivacity of the colors, than any regularity of conception, are the greatest attempt at embellishing the interior walls of the principal houses. Wooden ceilings are also sometimes painted.

The transfer of the annual fair from Makarieff to Nijney-Novogorod, which took place in 1818, has not had yet any influence on the commercial road from Bukharia to Russia. Instead of taking the way of Astrakan, which, by the bye, Jenkinson took in 1558, the caravans still direct themselves to some of the customhouses between the Caspian Sea and Petropavloskoi. Measures having been taken to procure them security from the Kirguisians of the small horde, they have of late appeared again in considerable numbers at Orenburg. Troitzk is the next point at which they usually arrive, and where they are always certain to find supplies of iron and copper. The caravans leave Bokhara in May. The camels, so

justly called 'the ships of the desert,' carry not only the merchandise, but a part, too, of the attendants. The merchants themselves follow on their horses. The camels are hired of Kirguisians, who generally accompany the caravan on horseback, at the rate of about twenty dollars each for the journey from Bokhara to Orenburg or Troitzk. In December or January, when there are numbers of returning camels at Bokhara, the price is still more moderate, and sometimes only half of that paid in the spring; but the Bukharians are then obliged to spend a part of the winter in the villages of their neighbors, and it seems, without any jeopardy, although at other times the two nations fear and hate each other. Rhubarb, cottons, silks, turquoises, lapis lazuli, furs, dried fruits, tea, tapestry, and shawls, are the principal merchandise imported into Russia by the Bukharians; of this they sell a small part in retail to the Tartars and Baschkers, near the frontiers, but at Nijney-Novogorod their transactions are entirely by wholesale. The Bukharians are also permitted to attend the fairs of Ibitzk and Korennaja, and enjoy, in general, great privileges. Their admission into the interior of the empire is much complained of by the native merchants. To trade with the same freedom as these, they need only swear allegiance to the emperor. Bukharians who thus have become nominally subjects, are now not only the channels of an extensive legitimate trade, but the secret agents of a vast deal of smuggling. The Khan is infinitely less liberal towards the Russians, who are compelled to pay double the duties imposed on the imports of the Jews and the Armenians. The Bukharians export half the value of their sales in gold and silver coin, and the rest in cochineal, cloves, sandalwood, cloth, leather, wax, iron, copper, steel, gold thread, mirrors, otter skins, pearls, Russia nankins, iron tools, coral, glass ware, linen, cotton, and silks, and small quantities of Indian muslin, and Russian linen. The clear profit of that trade is valued at thirty per cent., and the less gain is upon the articles exported from Russia. This traffic, long and dangerous as are the journeys which it requires, and doubly tardy as are the returns, in consequence of the commercial habits of the Bukharians, who rather prefer to wait a long time for a considerable profit, than to sell under a price once fixed, surely proves that they are, if not the most skilful, at least, very enterprising, persevering, painstaking, and patient traders.

Next to the trade with Russia, their most valuable traffic is

with Kashghar, where they sell a part of the merchandise purchased in Russia, and from whence they export a great deal of ordinary tea, porcelain ware, china silks, raw silk in small quantity, rhubarb, and Chinese coins. From Kashghar they sometimes go into Thibet for the goat's wool of which shawls are fabricated, and send it to the Cashmere weavers. A hundred thousand shawls are yearly made at Cashmere, of which twenty thousand remain in that city, sixty thousand go into India, twenty thousand are sent to Cabul, and from thence two thousand pass generally into Russia through Bokhara.

It is a curious fact, that during Buonaparte's continental system, English manufactures found their way from India into Russia, through the channel of the Bukharian caravans.

The Khan of Bukharia is temporal and spiritual chief, without any legal control or check. His council of state, or divan, never meets unless convened by himself, and no public functions confer a right to a seat in that body. Its members are exclusively nominated by the prince, and their number varies according to his will. Sometimes the divan consists of twenty, and sometimes but of five individuals. The supreme authority is even less restrained than in Turkey, for the clergy have no other influence than the Khan is pleased to confer upon them. This difference may be explained by the circumstance, that the first chiefs of the Ottoman empire were indebted to the Ulemaz for the title of Kalifs. The clergy were almost proscribed in Bukharia at the beginning of the present century, the Khan who then reigned being particularly addicted to the army; but the present sovereign, a perfect devotee, has considerably enlarged their influence. However, as interpreters of the Koran, they must always have exercised, more or less directly, much political power. The Cheik-ul-islam, or head of the clergy, confers all the inferior dignities of his profession, and to him recourse is had in all great judicial controversies. The hierarchy consists of four degrees, of which the last is that of the Mollahs, among whom any person that can read and write gains an easy admission. Those of the third class are called Muftis, of whom two are associated with the Cazee, or chief justiciary; their functions in that capacity consist in legalizing the sentences, by the affixing of a seal in lieu of a signature. Each of the judges of the several cities has also one Mufti joined to his tribunal, who possesses, however, less influence than those associated with the Cazee. The second class of the

clergy, or the Alams, exercise judicial authority only when it pleases the Cazee to refer to them some question of law. The Cazee exercises his functions beyond the term generally assigned to these magistrates in Mahommedan countries. His salary apparently consists in fees, for he often connives at appeals from his own decisions to himself, under the pretence that the Mufti's seal is counterfeited. The highest legal resort is to the Khan himself. We may moreover state, that the judicial proceedings are short, which is very consonant to caprice and arbitrariness and worse than occasional dozing upon the woollack, and that the parties make their own pleas and arguments.

Despotism is somewhat tempered in Bukharia by the erratic habits of a great portion of the inhabitants. However, as the Khan is said to be covetous and venal, every underling in office is probably courtier enough not to be less corrupt than his master. Most or all of the civil offices are without salaries, and it is apparently understood, that each functionary must provide for himself by means of fees or 'otherwise.' It is rather remarkable that in such a state of society the employments in the civil, as well as the ecclesiastical government, are not much sought for by persons of consequence and in affluent circumstances. The nearest relations of the 'Premier' have the most important posts in the administration, and about the court. The father in law (or rather we should say, one of the fathers in law) of the Khan has been raised to a dignity analogous to that of the Grand Vizier, before unknown in Bukharia. One may judge of the delicacy of the Khan, from the fact, that he took from his officers the presents that had been publicly sent to them by the Russian sovereign. Notwithstanding his great piety, Emir Haidir is rapacious, cruel, meanspirited, and suspicious. His accession was marked by atrocious acts; he suffers indignities from his rebel subjects, the Khivians, and his other feeble but more warlike neighbors. His principal minister is obliged to taste his food, to cover the plates, and to seal them himself, before they are sent to the Prince; but the Premier has wisely an under officer who previously performs the same delicate functions for his safety.

The Khan has in his harem two hundred women. He has four legitimate wives, two of whom stand in great favor with him. Every Friday he goes to a mosque on horseback, followed by his first dignitaries on foot, through the files of the soldiery drawn up near the palace, who, upon his approach pros-

trate themselves, and shout as he passes. One of his officers, who rides before him, answers to all such acclamations in the Khan's name. He is generally very unostentatious, walking privately in the streets of Bokhara ; and whenever he met his Russian visitors, he never declined an opportunity of conversing with them. His court, although not very expensive, has nevertheless a full proportion of masters of ceremony, chamberlains, gentlemen of the horse, private treasurers, chaplains, messengers, and police officers. The astrologer is probably not the least important personage of his household. The body guard consists of seven hundred men, two hundred of whom have the rank of officers.

The standing army, consisting wholly of horse, is twenty thousand strong. About half that number can be sent on foreign expeditions, the remainder being indispensable for the garrisons of the fortified places. They have regular pay. There is besides, a militia of sixty thousand men, which must constantly be kept ready to obey the prince's commands. The weapons of the troopers are a matchlock, a long pike, and a scimitar. Some of them wear a short coat of mail, an iron helmet, and a round buckler of buff skin. A few of the principal officers have a richer, but more effeminate dress ; they wear silk robes embroidered with large flowers of gold, and their crimson housing is never entirely to the fancy of these military fops, unless adorned with gold by a Cashmerian weaver, and with the same figured work which gives to a shawl its highest value. To a real soldier their horses would be much more enviable than all these trappings, for they are of excellent metal, and beautiful. The artillery is not worth mentioning ; the ten Persian field pieces of which it consists, being for the most part without carriages, and the three or four which have such vehicles, cannot be the more manageable for the three wheels with which they are provided, nor for their entire want of iron furniture. The master of the ordnance is an old Russian soldier. But whatever may be the state of the army, the annual reviews last long enough ; the author, we believe, says, two weeks. Their military campaigns are, on the contrary, of but short duration, for three weeks seem very long to the Bukharian warriors. Their battles are mere charges of cavalry, and they, as well as their usual foes, trust to the swiftness of their steeds for victory or flight.

The political or foreign relations of the Khan are very lim-

ited. The Khivians are the natural enemies of the state. Haïdir had defeated them not many years ago, but he reestablished their sovereign in his full power, in compliance with the precept of the Koran, which prohibits keeping unjustly the property of a brother. With Kokhan he is on friendly terms. He has no relations with Persia, on account of difference of religion, and because Bukharian rebels and malcontents are received in the Shah's dominions, and probably also because a great number of Persians are kept in bondage in Bukharia, who, the wily politicians of the Bokhara cabinet fear, might be reclaimed, if a regular intercourse between the two governments were established. To the Ottoman emperor, as the representative and successor of the Kalifs, the Khan sends presents every year, accompanied with assurances of friendship and respect. The Bukharian agents, who are almost every year deputed to the court of St Petersburg, are merchants, mean and cunning enough to avail themselves of their diplomatic privileges to introduce into Russia merchandise free of duties, though not so forgetful of their official obligations, as not to observe closely all the means of extending their commerce and obtaining new favors. The expenses of the government are supplied by the revenue derived from the customs, the rent of the demesne and forest lands, the tributes of the wandering tribes, and duties upon fruits, furs, and some other articles. The Bukharians pay, moreover, a regular tax, imposed by the Koran; this is a tenth of their private income, their crops and cattle, for the maintenance of paupers.

Of the laws, opinions, domestic life, and general habits of this people, little can now be said, after the space already given to other topics. Kidnapping is contrary to their laws, and that crime is committed only by their nomadic countrymen. By purchasing stolen fishermen, however, from the shores of the Caspian sea, and captives offered to them by the Kirguisians and the Khivians, they are but casuists like numerous other sinners. In their religion they are as intolerant, superstitious, and scrupulous as the Turks. The merit of conversion is so great with them, that they do not hesitate to enforce the external signs of it, at least, on their Christian captives. The civil authority obtrudes itself even on the domestic habits of the believers, in order to maintain the strict observance of every religious rite; and the sentences of that sort of inquisition, are without any judicial process, 'San-Benitos,' green tapers, or

procession, enforced with blows and bastinadoes. Religious scruples are carried further by the Bukharians, than even by their Turkish brethren ; for, to prevent smoking as a means of intoxication, tobacco is strictly prohibited. But prohibitions of this nature are secretly disregarded ; and many a Bukharian freethinker is fain to have his brain tickled, not only with tobacco, but with spirituous liquors ; precisely as the interdiction of pictures which represent animate creation, serves only to make them relish the more those of the most offensive and disgusting character. They are generally very cruel to their slaves. Among these unfortunate beings there were about five hundred Russians, and forty thousand Persians in the whole country, at the time of the embassy.

In politeness the Bukharians are nevertheless not entirely deficient. A visiter is generally presented with refreshments, and fruits or comfits are thrust in his hands when he retires. Social entertainments are among their few pleasures. Upon entering a house, a full stop is always made to give to the female inmates time to retire. We are thus better informed than the Duke of Venice, when he says ;

‘ From brassy bosoms and rough hearts of flint,
From stubborn Turks and Tartars, never trained
To offices of tender courtesy.’

The common salutation is a low bow and the laying of the right hand upon the heart. The author ridicules the comic and surfeiting civilities of the slaves ; but this is natural, and rather deserving pity than censure. Our poor ebony and lighter colored Cæsars and Pompeys are frequently not less expressive in obsequious politeness than their freeborn masters.

Although sensualists, the gentry of Bukharia are far from being epicures, or extremely delicate in their eating. Forks or spoons are yet as unknown among them, as forks and knives among the more polished Chinese. They make no use of coffee ; tea is their favorite beverage. Their dresses are much like those of the other Asiatics. The wealthiest are clad in robes of shawls or gold brocade, and have white turbans. The females wear, besides a large mantle, the sleeves of which fall behind their finely formed shoulders, a black veil to muffle their face, which is really so thick that they are obliged to lift the corners to see and be seen. But if we may believe the author, there were some among them,

‘ Who, if between the folds but “one” eye shone,
Like Seba’s queen, could vanquish with that one.’

They freely walk through the town, and the worthy Baron seems to remember, with a degree of fondness, some fine faces with fair skin, expressive eyes, and a beautiful set of teeth, that in the beginning of his residence at Bokhara, approached with lively curiosity his dwelling. But the illnatured police soon prohibited females from going so near the unbelievers. We might be inclined to think more favorably of them, if they did not, to use Sir Richard Steele's expression, 'makes their lips, cheeks, and eyebrows by their own industry.' Our gallant colonel asks with marks of astonishment, why so handsome women use rouge; why some paint their nails; why they join their eyebrows with pencils dipped in black color, and paint even their eyelashes; and, lastly, why they wear rings in their noses. These things may indeed be embarrassing to a man of prose, but the poet makes gold of dust. Thus Mr Moore compares the red painted fingers' ends to 'tips of coral branches in the stream,' which, with due submission to Mr Moore, we think a bad simile; but the next verses are better, and will satisfy the Baron.

'And others mix the Kohol's jetty dye
To give that long, dark languishing to the eye,
Which makes the maids, whom kings are proud to cull
From fair Circassia's vales, so beautiful.'

Montaigne, either from an excessive gallantry, or a want of that graceful virtue, says, 'that it is no great loss whether we see them in their natural complexions or no.' But, on such a subject, we hope to be pardoned in preferring the poet's opinion to that of the caustic and cynic philosopher. The Bukharian dandies, although not envious of an 'Amazonian chin,' like their betters in Europe, take, however, great care that their beards never extend beyond the cheek bones, which are the columns of Hercules, or the *ne plus ultra*; and they nicely pluck, with small pincers, the least straggling hair, be it black or grey.

The languages most in use in Bukharia are the Persian and the Turkish; the former is more common among the higher classes and the better educated, and is the only one employed in official transactions. In regard to education, it seems, that in the colleges, or 'medressés,' nothing is taught so much, except reading and writing, as the Koran. Discussions about the import of some of its obscurest passages are the task of the learned, and the amusement of the wits. Their medical and

astronomical knowledge is yet mixed with woeful errors and prejudices. Two or three geographical maps, accidentally brought from Russia, were the first that had ever reached Bokhara. History is considered a profane and useless study. However, a work, supposed to be the Annals of Alexander the Great, is read on public squares by a Mollah, who is appointed by the Khan, and receives, after each lecture, voluntary remunerations from his disciples. Merchants and persons of rank generally can read and write.

We are somewhat puzzled how to reconcile with some of the preceding strictures, the following passages of the author's account. 'Learning is respected, and study is fondly pursued; to found schools is considered a pious act, and to maintain poor students, a duty; the whole revenue of the customs must be distributed to the Mollahs, the students, and the poor. The Khan often himself distributes among the scholars rewards, which are increased upon their advancing to the higher classes. It is not unusual that the rich receive at their table, and present with small supplies of money, students, who come without being invited, or whom they had never seen before.' (p. 301.) If this be really so, we may forgive the ladies their passion for painted nails and eyebrows, the officers their affectation of womanish attire, the Khan his dislike of war; and we may even look with charity upon some other foibles of the like tendency. The colleges still possess the large landed donations, which Timur gave them; and the tenth of their produce is divided among the students, of whom there are about ten thousand in the capital.

Nothing is said by M. de Meyendorff concerning the object and the result of the embassy, and we must, of course, imitate his discretion. The Russian expedition remained at Bokhara from the twentieth of December until the tenth of March following, when they encamped in the gardens of Bazarchi, the weather being then already very pleasant. On the twentythird, they set out on their return homeward; *très-àises* (says the author) *d'avoir vu ce pays, mais plus satisfaits encore de nous en éloigner*. It is obvious, that the time spent by the author at Bokhara was busily employed in useful observation and close inquiry. Much must have been gleaned in conversation; and, although M. de Meyendorff, with exemplary candor, professes to have had but a slight acquaintance with the countries which he has visited, previous to his departure from Russia, we must

suppose that he and several of his companions were conversant with Oriental languages. Though a great deal is thrown together in the published account, probably much has been very properly reserved for the private intelligence of the Russian government.

Several interesting papers accompany the work. One is a description of coins collected in Bukharia, written by the Professor of Oriental Languages at the St. Petersburg University. To this essay are joined two plates, neatly engraved and representing those coins, among which is one bearing this inscription in Cufic characters; 'There is one God, the Unique, who has no companion.' The next paper is a description of a medal representing King Demetrius, son of Euthydemes, and is learned and curious. Then comes an account of the commercial route from Semi-Palatinsk to Cashmere, with the Persian text. The last paper is entitled, 'Natural History of Bukharia,' and treats of the geology, botany, and zoology of that country, and does credit to Dr Pander, its author. There is, besides, a copious geographical index in Arabic, with an explanation in French, by M. Jaubert, a distinguished professor of the Turkish language in one of the colleges at Paris, and interpreter to the king of France. This is, indeed, a valuable addition for geographers and Oriental scholars.

The map annexed to the work is suited to the neatness and care with which the rest of this publication has been prepared for the public. Several lithographic drawings, also, give a sufficiently clear idea of the architecture of the Bukharians. On turning to the frontispiece, which is a Tartar family picture with the figures almost at full length, we feel some misgivings at what we have recently said somewhere of the extreme homeliness of women among half civilized nations. Our remark was not only ungallant, but we fear too general. We make haste to atone for our rashness, however, by acknowledging that there smiles now in that print, a graceful little Tadjik maiden, with rosy cheeks, auburn ringlets, arched eyebrows, and dapper white hands, who makes us almost as much ashamed of our hasty reflections on her Asiatic countrywomen, as we are angry with the disdainful and dusky Uzbek, the cunning Turcoman, the supercilious Tartar, the conceited Tadjik, and the proud-looking Afghan, who surround the fair damsel.

Sir William Jones was right in expecting from the Russians much accurate information concerning their Asiatic neighbors;

and M. de Meyendorff's account is well suited to encourage further expectations, considering the enlightened and liberal policy of the Russian government in promoting researches for that object.

ART. IV.—*Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac.* By THOMAS L. M'KENNEY, of the Indian Department, and Joint Commissioner with his Excellency Governor Cass, in negotiating the Treaty. Baltimore. F. Lucas. 8vo.

If we are not mistaken, Carver, who made a tour through the region of the lakes more than sixty years ago, begins his journal at Detroit; and states, as a reason why he passes over all his previous notes, that they relate to a part of the country already too well known to justify any remark. If such forbearance were proper at that early period, it would appear to be so now in a much greater degree. It would be difficult at this time to write a new thing on either the Hudson river, the Niagara Falls, or even the Grand Canal. Indeed, through the medium of books of travels, tours, sketches, diaries, and the like, almost every nook and corner of the United States, within the reach of stage-coaches, steamboats, or even pedestrian enterprise, has become familiar to every reader. For this reason, we were somewhat surprised to find Mr M'Kenney's '*Tour to the Lakes*' beginning at Baltimore, or, rather, at Washington, and could persuade ourselves to give the first hundred and more pages only a cursory glance. Passing sketches of our maritime cities can excite little interest; and while we regard the pride and delight with which the author moves up the New York Canal, as natural and honorable feelings, and should have questioned his taste and sensibility, if he had viewed the Niagara Falls with less wonder and enthusiasm; nevertheless, we think no graphic powers, of either the pen or the pencil, could give any of these topics the charm of novelty, or even of ordinary interest. We have standard descriptions of all these wonders of nature and of art, under their present aspects; and until they exhibit new features, inquirers may safely be left to existing authorities for information.

Mr M'Kenney embarked at Buffalo for Detroit in a steamboat, which then plied between the two places in conjunction with six or seven others. In 1820, Mr Schoolcraft, who then made a tour of the lakes, found only one steamboat on Lake Erie. In his letter dated from Detroit, Mr M'Kenney, like every preceding traveller, is led to speak of the distinguished Indian, Pontiac, whose exploits have given something like classic celebrity to the grounds around that place. There is much that is attractive in the history of this champion of the forest; and as we understand there are extant some manuscripts written contemporaneously with the events connected with his name, we may anticipate a further illustration of his character and wars. Mr M'Kenney has added little to the facts stated by Mr Schoolcraft; who, in his turn, copied them with due credit from Carver.

Nothing worthy of particular note occurs during the boat voyage from Detroit to the Sault de Ste Marie. We are struck, however, with some surprise to find, that our traveller met with a British garrison at Drummond's Island. We had supposed this island to have been determined, several years since, to belong to the United States, and that the British had evacuated the post upon it. In a military point of view, its occupation may perhaps be regarded with indifference; but there are other considerations, which would seem to render it highly objectionable. Sovereignty should be intangible to a foreign power; and there is a proof upon the Champlain frontier of the readiness with which we abandon a military position, when determined to appertain to another nation.

Mr M'Kenney says, that as many as three thousand Indians had been recently at Drummond's Island, in order to receive presents. Most of these Indians were, we presume, from within the boundary of the United States. We are utterly at a loss for reasons to account for this perseverance, on the part of the British Indian Department, in the present-giving system, so far as it relates to Indians within our jurisdiction. We are unwilling to impute it to the *only* motive which strikes our apprehension,—a wish to preserve a claim to services, in the event of another war, which were so useful in the last war,—for we hope such a contingency is too remote, to be the basis of any such policy. It is known that strong representations have been made by the local authorities to the government, setting forth the injurious consequences that may result from such an interference

with our internal concerns. To ensure that tranquillity, which it is the aim of the United States to perpetuate among the Indians, it is all important, it is indispensable, that their association should be confined, in all respects, to those who, so far from having any interest to counteract such beneficent intentions, will cooperate to give them the fullest effect. We believe we are not mistaken in saying, that there has been a diplomatic correspondence between the two countries on this subject, and that the British authorities averred ignorance of any such intercourse. Whether it exists with or without the authority of the British government, the fact of its existence, to an alarming extent, is unquestionable.

While at Drummond's Island, Mr M'Kenney witnessed the interesting spectacle of an assembly of Indians, engaged in religious worship, and heard them sing an Indian hymn, which had been adapted to music. At the same place he had an opportunity of observing another kind of devotion, which we are led to believe is almost as rare among the savages, as enthusiasm in religion. The habitual indifference with which they treat their wives, the unfeeling inequality with which they distribute the burdens and labors of life, reversing the ordinary scale of relative weakness, and making the females, as it were, the stronger sex, lead us to suppose them unsusceptible of all sentiments of love. But whatever want of tenderness or gallantry the Indian females may be accustomed to after their marriage, when, according to savage nations, they become the slave of man, and the services exacted of them are submitted to as an inevitable lot, and claim only support and protection in return; there is no doubt that the maiden of the forest has her season of coquetry and triumph, in which she is propitiated with those sylvan blandishments, which, however far they may be behind the courtly wooings of polished life in delicacy and refinement, as decidedly show the temporary ascendancy of the sex. Mr M'Kenney says he found a young Indian, one soft and bright moonshiny evening,—just 'such a night' as Jessica's lover might have chosen,—seated in front of his mistress' cabin, serenading her with a 'three-holed flute,' in which melodious occupation he passed the whole night. This simple instrument, whose compass is confined to three notes, appears to be consecrated to love, for we believe it is resorted to only during a paroxysm of that passion.

Since the time when Mr Schoolcraft visited the Sault de Ste

Marie, in 1820; a military post had been established at that place, forming the terminating point in that quarter of a cordon of posts, which not long ago extended from Detroit to this place. The copper found in the neighborhood of the Sault, appears early to have attracted the notice of the French missionaries; for Charlevoix says that one of them, who had been bred a goldsmith, had made chandeliers, crosses, and censers of that metal. The whitefish is caught there in great abundance and of a delicious quality. The salmon-trout likewise abounds in Lake Huron. It is often found weighing over forty pounds, still retaining most of the peculiar flavor belonging to that species of fish. Mr M'Kenney gives a very lively description of the mode of taking whitefish in the rapids, which we are tempted to extract.

'The whitefish is taken by both whites and Indians with a scoop-net, which is fastened to a pole about ten feet long. Two persons go out in a bark canoe, that you could take in your hand like a basket; and in the midst of the rapids, or rather where they pitch and foam the most. One sits near the stern, and paddles; the other stands in the bow, and with the dexterity of a wire-dancer, balances his "egg-shell," that you or I would be ready to turn over in our attempts to keep steady. When a fish is seen through the water, which is clear as crystal, the place is indicated by the man with the net, when, by a dexterous and quick motion of the paddle, by the Indian holding it, he shoots the canoe to the spot, or within reach of it, when the net is thrown over the fish, and it is scooped up, and thrown into the canoe; meantime the eye of the person in the stern is kept steadily fixed upon the breakers, and the eddy, and whirl, and fury of the current; and the little frail bark is shot away in a smoother place, or kept stationary by the motion of that single paddle, as circumstances may require.'

Maple sugar is manufactured in considerable quantities at the Sault, many families making, according to Mr M'Kenney, more than a ton weight in a season. Furs are not abundant. Potatoes and oats are cultivated with success, and some garden vegetables. But the winters are tediously long, and the cold severe. The snow falls to a great depth, and remains on the ground about seven months in a year. It is not, however, without its appropriate amusements. *Trains*, drawn by dogs, are the common vehicles of pleasure, and, according to Mr M'Kenney, afford some conveniences, for which the more cumbersome equipages of other climes are but ill adapted. When

a visit, or other excursion is intended, the train is drawn into the house, and, before a comfortable fire, the lady arranges herself among the robes of fur, and goes forth. It is not so stated, but we should hope that custom allows the lady to maintain her seat in this train, until she can alight on the hearth of a friend. These dogs are large, with thick necks and broad shoulders, as if fitted by nature for the draft for which they are so generally employed.*

While Mr M'Kenney was at the Sault, he had an opportunity of seeing an Indian dance. The ball began at eight o'clock in the evening, and ended with the rising of the sun the next morning. It terminated with a feast, which was served up in two 'six gallon kettles.' Dancing appears to be one of the chief amusements belonging to the savage life. Every Indian, of either sex, who is not incapacitated by some bodily defect or infirmity, seems to have acquired this accomplishment, the cultivation of which begins with their earliest years. The ordinary dances, which have no great variety of movement, are danced by all; but there are others of a higher character, which require a muscular power, and a capability of enduring fatigue, which render them generally unattainable. The *Buffalo dance*, which is performed with a buffalo scalp (that is, the skin of that animal, taken from the top of the head, including the horns, and a part of the neck) on the head, often in the bright sun of a summer's day, and mostly in a crouching attitude, is probably as severe a trial of the physical strength, as any exercise within the range of the gymnasium.

On the tenth of June, 1826, the party embarked in three barges, and one bark canoe, and left the Sault for Lake Superior. This is the third expedition which Governor Cass has conducted into the remote regions of the northwest, for purposes almost solely connected with the future welfare of the Indians scattered over that immense tract of country. His zeal and activity have been rewarded by the most complete

*In the winter of 1819-20, two gentlemen came from Lord Selkirk's establishment, on the Red River, to Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, a distance of several hundred miles, each drawn in a train by two or three dogs. The party returned to Red River in the spring in boats, and most of the dogs were consequently left behind. As soon as they saw that they were abandoned by their old masters, each dog selected a house in the village, and by an obstinate maintenance of his post, and a faithful guardianship of the premises, compelled the occupant to adopt him as a part of the establishment.

success; and the great scheme of meliorating the condition of the sons of the forest, by establishing boundaries, and allaying ancient feuds, will probably be indebted for its consummation more to his agency, than to that of any other individual. As we shall hereafter have occasion to speak of the treaty, we will now make no reference to the objects of the expedition. Mr M'Kenney went in the bark canoe; and we cannot give a better idea of the buoyancy and capacity of this beautiful craft, so common in the northwestern waters, than by stating the fact, that this canoe, which was thirty feet long, four feet in the beam, and two and a half feet deep in the centre, and could be raised out of the water by two of its crew, carried eleven men, with their baggage, weighing in all about two thousand pounds.

The entrance into Lake Superior appears to have made the same impression on Mr M'Kenney as on all preceding travellers. The scenery has a grandeur suited to the *embouchure* of the 'Father of Lakes,'—elevated peaks and precipitous bluffs, that give boldness to the outline of the waters, and leave the imagination to indulge in theories of 'elemental war.' *Point Iroquois* has likewise a moral interest, deriving its name from a bloody Indian fight, which has given it a traditional celebrity through more than a century.

On the second day after their entrance into the lake, the party encountered a severe *blow*, one of those almost cloudless tempests, which, in the face of a bright sun, chafe the lake into a fury, that one would expect to see only under the influence of a black and stormy heaven. The rage of the winds on these lakes, at certain seasons, is vehement in the extreme. But, according to M. Charlevoix, the element gives a kindly premonition, which the voyager neglects to notice at his peril, and which, if the fact be as it is stated, affords ample time for measures of precaution. Charlevoix says a coming tempest may be told on Lake Superior three days in advance; the first day exhibiting a light ripple; the second, tolerably large waves, but without crests; but the third day, '*le lac est tout en feu; l'océan, dans le plus grand fureur, n'est pas plus agité.*' We somewhat distrust the certainty of these signs, and suspect the irregular turbulence of Lake Superior, as well as of all the other lakes, baffles all weatherwise calculations.

The first days of the voyage appear to have been barren of incident. The shore of the lake was low and monotonous, and on the fourth day, even animate nature seems to have been

scattered along their route with singular sparingness, and want of variety; for our traveller says in his notes on that day, 'I have not seen a living thing today (exclusive of our party), except two crows, a spider, and one ant, always excepting musquitoes.'

It would be impossible for a traveller to pass up the south side of Lake Superior, and not notice the *Grandes Sables*, and the *Pictured Rocks*, the two most striking features of the lake. They have both been slightly noticed in our review of Mr. Schoolcraft's *Narrative Journal*.* This gentleman, in his 'Mineralogical Report' to the Secretary of War, in 1822, gives the following scientific view of this magnificent scene.

'The *Pictured Rocks* commence three leagues beyond La Pointe des *Grandes Sables*, and extend along a very irregularly indented shore to the western curve of Grand Isle Bay, a distance of eighteen miles, when the further view of them is intercepted by a point of woodland extending into the lake. They consist of a formation of sandstone, which is in some respects peculiar, on account of its composition, its color, its extreme friability, and the great thickness it presents to view. It is composed of coarse grains of siliceous sand united by a calcareous cement, and deposited *stratum-super-stratum*, to the computed height of three hundred feet; forming a mural precipice along the margin of the lake. In some places we observe imbedded pebbles of quartz, and water-worn fragments of other primary rocks; but the attraction of aggregation appears to be very feeble, and where the strata are exposed to the influence of the weather and the lake, they are rapidly submitting to decay, and the fragments are easily crushed between the fingers. Its recent fracture presents a light grey color, which is uniformly diffused, but externally the rock is black, red, green, yellow, brown, white, producing a diversified and pictured appearance, to which this singular range of bluffs is indebted for its name. In no place, however, does the recent fracture disclose any traces of the red color predominant in the Superior sandstone; and the variety of outward coloring appears to be attributable chiefly to the washing down of the banks of colored clays and loam, which form the superincumbent soil. In reference to their color and position, however, we may suppose that the *Pictured Rocks* are a second deposit of the same formation and series upon which they rest. Traces of such a deposit are furnished by several parts of the Superior shore; but as it is much more perishable in its structure, it appears to have first

* North American Review, vol. xv. p. 224, for July, 1822.

yielded to decomposition ; and hence probably the origin of Les Grandes Sables, and of those numerous and extensive sandy tracts, of which Whitefish Point, the plains of Ontonagon, and Point Chegoimegon, afford conspicuous instances.'

These stupendous battlements of rock, from the account of all travellers, offer to the eye a scene of variety and sublimity, which it is impossible to view without delight and enthusiasm, notwithstanding the idea that must constantly be present to the spectator's mind, that he is purchasing his enjoyment at considerable hazard. They cannot be viewed to advantage, except while floating along their front ; and the suddenness with which such a wind, as would render the situation dangerous, springs up on this lake, dashes the pleasure with a strong alloy. Mr M'Kenney appears to have verified how nearly the pleasure and the peril are allied. Having delayed somewhat behind his party, in order to take a minuter survey, his bark, while he was yet at no great distance from the beetling heights, encountered a freshening wind, that soon disturbed the waters sufficiently to make him and his companions feel a most unpleasant sense of jeopardy.

While at Grand Isle, our author heard repeated the story of the Chippeway war party, which Mr Schoolcraft relates as a recent incident, when he first visited that island with Governor Cass. It affords a strong illustration of the bravery and devotion of the Indian character, when excited by powerful motives. Indeed, instances of martyrlike sacrifice of life, which are so rare in the annals of other nations, are not uncommon among the Indian tribes. We have not space to extract the story, but we cannot forbear presenting the main incidents of it. The Chippeways of this part of the country appear to have incurred the reproach of cowardly inactivity in recent hostilities with the Sioux. To efface this, thirteen warriors made an irruption into the Sioux territory. They suddenly and unexpectedly met a war party of the enemy, of ten times their number. As efforts were then making to restore harmony between the two nations, the Sioux were willing to receive this little band as friends. But the Chippeways were resolved on a fight, and made preparations for an attack the next morning. They were easily repulsed, when, retiring to some rude intrenchments, which had previously been dug, they were all killed, excepting one, after having destroyed twice their number of the enemy. This survivor, being the youngest warrior, had been directed to

take his stand on a neighboring height, whence he could view the result, and, as soon as he saw their fate, to return with the account to their friends.

On the seventeenth of July, our party arrived at *Granite Point*. The back country here begins to be lifted into high hills and mountains. Mr Schoolcraft named this point *Granite Point*, because the geological character of the shore here changes to rocks of that class, a granite bluff of two hundred feet in height rising at this place out of the lake, connected with the main by a neck of 'red and grey sandstone, in horizontal layers.' Mr M'Kenney gives the following animated description of his clambering to the extremity of this point.

'Descending from rock to rock for about thirty feet, I seated myself on a ledge that projected far out into the lake, to survey the scenery, and contemplate the motion of the waters, that in towering waves would roll against these rocks as if asleep, and unconscious of their approaching destiny till awakened by the shock of the contact, when they would mount high in the air, and fall back broken into a thousand parts, and be swallowed up by their successors, which, on reaching the same point, met with the same overthrow. I had been observing these waves for some minutes, when a mother duck with her brood of younglings, ten or twelve in number, and which appeared to be only a few days old, swam out from behind a projection of a rock, where the water was comparatively still. She was, on seeing me, greatly alarmed, and with both feet and wings made her way into the lake, and, on getting ahead of her brood, would turn back and flap her wings on the water, and then away again, till presently I saw her as she would mount over the top of the wave, and her little family looking like small corks on the billows.'

We make this extract, as presenting a pleasing view of lake scenery, and as answering the inquiry so frequently suggested by a sight of the migratory flocks, that, through 'the desert and illimitable air,' wing their way northward each season,—What region brings their long and lofty pilgrimage to a close?

There are clusters of islands rising out of the lake in the neighborhood of this point, which the author supposes may once have formed an elongation of the point. Such a supposition finds countenance in the geological character of the neck of Granite Point, uniting it with the main, which, according to Mr Schoolcraft, is sandy alluvion, covering a friable sandstone, which is incapable of withstanding the action of the waters, like its associate masses of granite, and which will doubtless one day wear away, and leave the present extremity of the point an island.

When Mr Schoolcraft passed up Lake Superior in 1820, the party made the usual *portage* at the neck of *Keweenaw Point*, and, of course, saw little of this extraordinary projection of land into Lake Superior. As Governor Cass' party at this time made the circuit of the point, Mr M'Kenney had an opportunity of examining its features. He describes the shore as being for more than two thirds of its length 'uninteresting and monotonous,' and as almost upon a level with the lake, and covered to the water's edge with a growth of pine, cedar, aspen, spruce, &c. Two high, conical mountains are seen rising from the interior. Towards the termination of the point, its character changes to 'rocky and broken precipices.'

'The shores are cut into little bays of from a hundred feet to a quarter of a mile, into many of which we entered, while the rocky projections of the mountain hung over us as if to threaten us with destruction. Huge masses of rocks, that had parted from the mountain, were lying out in the lake, some fifty and a hundred yards from the shore, between which and others that formed a kind of passage way, and with perpendicular walls, our little bark was passed on the smooth surface of the waters. It was like a mite in comparison with these ruptured and stupendous fragments.'

Nature has adorned this remote and unfrequented point with cascades, and with green and lovely recesses, in one of which Mr M'Kenney says he found that rare plant, which botanists and poets have so long sought for in vain, 'the rose without a thorn.' This point is said to have been first coasted around about forty years ago. Common canoes and barks can be easily taken across the portage, but the barges of the present party, and boats of that size, are obliged to make the circuit. It is fortyfive miles long. The Indians have a tradition, that a party, in passing around *Keweenaw Point*, and approaching *Beaver Island*, which is off the point, were frightened back by a female, whose form expanded to a most appalling size; and that since that time, no savage has ever trespassed upon the interdicted region. It would seem to require nothing more than the length of this rather perilous circuit, and the facility with which the Indians can carry over the portage their small craft, to restrain them from this circumnavigation; but the Beavers appear to have profited by this superstitious or accidental desertion of the point, as they are said to have been found in extraordinary abundance on the island bearing their

name, by the first white man who dared to invade the phantom-protected waters.

On arriving off the Ontonagon river, the party had a view of the Porcupine mountains, far in the interior, which were estimated by Captain Douglas to be about two thousand feet high. During the same day, Mr M'Kenney visited an Indian hamlet, and entered one of the lodges which belonged to a Frenchman, who had married a squaw. This lodge is stated to have been twelve feet in diameter, and to have contained, at the time he visited it, the mistress, five children, several squaws, an old chief, a crow, and six dogs. Our readers, who are accustomed to the elbow-room of spacious houses, will hardly imagine how so many persons could voluntarily crowd within so small a space; and this lodge probably afforded the best accommodations of all in the hamlet. The old chief who was present, said, 'he had been for the last ten days living upon wild garlic.'

St Michael's Island, which is about four hundred and twenty miles up the lake, was the seat of a French mission more than a century ago. The cross was erected there, and no doubt many a red neophyte rewarded the zeal of the priests. No vestige now remains of the labors of these bold and persevering pioneers of christianity. Perhaps few efforts, which have cost so much privation, suffering, and death, have been so fruitless in permanent effects, as the labors of these early missionaries. At the time we allude to, a religious establishment so far distant as St Michael's Island, was as arduous and hazardous an enterprise, as a similar one at the present day beyond the Rocky Mountains. A priest, once in a year or two, passes up from Montreal to Fond du Lac, on a spiritual visitation of the stationary traders, and of the few Indians who still preserve a shadowy connexion with the church.

A Mr Johnson, of the lake country, informed Mr M'Kenney, that in 1791, he had here met with a scientific Frenchman, or Italian, who called himself *Count Andriani*, and who was making observations, with instruments, upon the latitude, &c. This casual mention of his name, appears to be, so far as our knowledge extends, the only glimpse of notoriety on this side the Atlantic, which has rewarded the enterprise of this scientific count.

In passing onward the party met several Indians on the shore, who were in a starving condition. One of them, who said he had eaten nothing for two days, begged for tobacco the first

thing. To endure hunger appears to be habitual with the Indians, particularly with those of the northern regions, but even while they are sinking under atrophy, the love of whiskey or tobacco still predominates over all other cravings.

The party reached Fond du Lac on the twentyeighth of July, after a voyage of eighteen days, the distance being five hundred and twenty-nine miles. Governor Cass remained at that place until the ninth of August, to effect the treaty, which he, in conjunction with Mr M'Kenney, had been commissioned to form with the Indians assembled, agreeably to a convocation, for that purpose. It will be recollected that Governor Cass, in conjunction with General Clark, of Missouri, had met several tribes of Indians at Prairie du Chien the year before, to establish the boundaries between the various contiguous tribes, and settle a general pacification among them. As these objects could not be fully attained at that time and place, this second council was appointed, with a view to accommodate such tribes as were too remote for attendance at Prairie du Chien. The author has appended to his work all the speeches and papers connected with the council. The beneficial results are matters of publicity. The supplemental article to the treaty, shows that a new subject of negotiation had arisen since the last council. A murder of a party of whites upon Lake Pepin had been committed by the Chippeways, and the murderers were to be demanded at Fond du Lac. As these persons were not present, all that could be effected then was, a promise to have them forthcoming the ensuing year at Green Bay, where another council would convene under the direction of the same commissioners, for this and other objects connected with the welfare of the Indians.*

* An instance of the integrity with which they fulfil such promises occurred at Prairie du Chien in 1819. During the summer of that year, two soldiers were murdered and shockingly mangled in the neighborhood of Fort Armstrong, on the Mississippi. As circumstances rendered it almost certain that some Winebagoes were the murderers, that tribe was immediately summoned to give them up. The chiefs at once promised to bring them to Prairie du Chien within a stated time, and they were brought accordingly, preceded by a white flag, and attended by a large concourse of the tribe.

They were taken into military custody, and the next morning examined separately before three magistrates of the place, in the presence of several Winebago chiefs. The youngest of the three (for that was the number given up) was first examined. He said he was the adopted child of an uncle, with whom, and an elder brother, he

During the author's stay at Fond du Lac, he observed many things, and collected some traditions and stories, which throw new light on the Indian character and condition. It is not surprising, that a simple and suffering people, like the Indians, should be inclined to superstition. Mr M'Kenney relates anecdotes strikingly illustrative of this weakness. Soon after their arrival, an emaciated and squalid looking Indian presented himself, and was recognised as the guide who had undertaken, in 1820, to lead Governor Cass to the *Copper Rock*. He had the ill luck to lose his way in this instance, which was considered by his brethren as an evidence of the anger of the Great Spirit, who viewed all such intrusions upon the riches of his kingdom with jealous eyes; and this accident, together with his subsequent ill success in hunting, created a belief with his tribe, and at last with himself, that he had been abandoned by his Manitto. He was in the last stage of despair at this time. It was judiciously determined, that the best method of restoring him to self respect, and to the respect of his tribe, would be, to improve his condition by presents, and thus give one of the strongest proofs that good fortune had returned to him. The result showed that the method was successful.

Our traveller acquaints us with a singular kind of posthumous *husbandship*, of which we do not recollect to have seen any previous mention. He says many squaws were observed, who constantly carried a 'roll of clothing' about with them, which

had gone to Rock Island, on which Fort Armstrong stands. While they were in the bushes near the fort, they saw two soldiers approach them in order to cut poles. While they were thus engaged, his uncle told him and his brother, that some time before, a relation of theirs had been murdered by the whites, and that now was a proper time to avenge the deed, by killing these two soldiers, who were unarmed and in their power. He said he tried to dissuade his uncle from the act, but finding him inflexible, he stood by, while the deed was committed, neither assisting nor opposing. He added, that his elder brother had likewise tried to dissuade his uncle, but, when he found him determined, had assisted in the murder. The elder brother was then examined, who confirmed, in all respects, the testimony of the younger, acquitting him entirely of all blame, excepting that of having been a passive spectator. He assumed a portion of the guilt himself, but referred all the responsibility of the act to his uncle. The uncle was then called, who confirmed the statements of his two nephews; saying, that he believed the whites to have killed his relation, and that he had been bound in duty to retaliate. The younger brother was immediately discharged; the other two were afterwards tried, and found guilty.

they appeared to preserve with much care. On inquiry, he found they were widows, and that these rolls were emblems of their bereavement, and of the continuance of their mourning. 'It is indispensable, when a woman loses her husband, for her to take off her best apparel, and roll it up, and confine it by means of her husband's sashes; and if he had ornaments, these are generally put on the top of the roll, and around is wrapped a piece of cloth. This bundle is called *her husband*,' and must be her inseparable companion, until taken away by some one of her late husband's family, which is not generally done until after the lapse of a year. We can see no great hardship in exacting such a season of mourning on such occasions; at least it is not going beyond what is required in more civilized life, without, however, annexing to it such an inconvenient badge of grief. But it appears, that inexorable relations sometimes leave these widows several years with this miserable substitute. It is not, however, without its advantages. Whenever presents are distributed, this cylindrical husband comes in, with all the fulness of the marital character, for its equal share, which, of course, goes to the disconsolate widow.

Another custom of the Chippeway women is mentioned, which exhibits their maternal affection in a strong light. When a Chippeway mother loses her child, she dresses an effigy, which takes its place in the cradle, and becomes, during a year, the unconscious object of every maternal kindness and attention.

During his stay at Fond du Lac, Mr M'Kenney frequently visited a young female Indian, who was suffering under a severe disease, which he considered *hemiplegia*. One half of her body had been paralyzed, and the optic nerves so affected as to render her blind. Her countenance was handsome and interesting. Perhaps no description of their poverty and wretchedness could give us such a vivid idea of the comfortless condition of the savages, as this picture of suffering and sickness, deprived of all those remedial and soothing appliances, which mitigate the pains of disease in civilized life. Here we find an interesting girl of sixteen, prostrated by one of the severest visitations of Providence, raised from the bare earth only by a thin rush mat, and having no other nourishment offered to her sickly appetite, than 'pork and flour soup;' and even this dainty probably became attainable through the accidental occurrence of the treaty at that place. The parents were unremitting in their attention to their sick child, but apparently with a con-

sciousness that they could only watch the progress of disease, without any power to check its force. The *materia medica* among the Indians is extremely limited, and where nature and superstitious incantations fail to effect a cure, the patients generally find no relief, but are surrendered with hopeless submission to their fate.

The council at Fond du Lac exhibited the somewhat novel spectacle of a female, who took her seat in it as proxy of her husband. It may be worthy of remark, that she made a short and pertinent speech. Mr M'Kenney confirms the often repeated assertion, that there are 'man-women' among the savages. He mentions one who had been induced by a dream, or some such accident, to assume the dress and duties of a squaw, and had even gone through the ceremony of being married to a man.

The Indians call the aurora borealis 'dancing spirits,' which is both a beautiful and poetical appellation.

The party left Fond du Lac, on its return, the ninth of August, having sent forward a detachment to the river Ontonagon, for the purpose of endeavoring to move the 'copper rock,' with a view to transport it to Washington. It appears by the report of the person having charge of the detachment, that the shallowness of the river rendered such a scheme impracticable. They built a fire on the rock, in order to facilitate a separation of it into portable fragments, but without success; and this famous *rock* will still remain on its old ground, to puzzle geologists, and perhaps lead to new mining speculations. And there let it stand in its native form and dimensions, till the art of man can devise means of removing it, without fracturing it into parts, and thereby destroying the chief qualities, which make it a wonder of nature.

On his return, Mr M'Kenney had an opportunity of seeing the *Pictured Rocks* to better advantage, than when ascending the lake. 'The relic of Indian pottery,' as it is termed, is a curious exhibition of the manner in which conflicting elements sometimes strike out an imitation of the most elaborate works of art. It resembles a vase in form, having a stem about five feet high, and a body twelve feet, with well proportioned dimensions in other respects. Some fir trees, which grow out of the top, form an ornament well suited to the vase. The *urn* and *monument* are still more singular and wonderful exhibitions of the same kind, particularly the first, which is described

as being about sixty feet high, and with 'exact proportions.' All these are adjunct features of the 'Pictured Rocks,' which he now approached at a point, or projection, bearing the name of the 'Castle Rock.' The outstanding mass is three hundred feet high, and one hundred and fifty feet wide, with an opening or cavern at its base about forty feet broad. When within fifty yards of this cavern, on looking up, he found himself under 'the drop from the edges above.' Notwithstanding this threatening aspect, he entered the opening, and discovered within 'a circular passage, which winds into the body of the rock, with a roof of thirty feet, supported on pillars, averaging twelve inches in diameter.' Near the cave rock lies an immense mass of ruins, which show that these overhanging precipices occasionally descend into the lake beneath.

The party reached the Sault de Ste Marie in safety. The author here collected two Indian allegories, which show that the savages have fancies skilled in happy personifications. We have not room for further extracts.

Mr M'Kenney estimates the number of Indians on Lake Superior to be about eight thousand, and says that they bring in furs to the amount of about twentyfive thousand dollars. This leaves but a small dividend to each individual, in a country where hunting forms an important source of subsistence. There is no doubt the Indians in this quarter suffer privations, greater than fall to the lot of most of those who reside within our jurisdiction. The earth is niggardly in its spontaneous productions, and the shortness of the season holds out little inducement to the indolent habits of the Indians, to seek food by the sweat of the brow. The lake affords a supply of fish during a part of the year, but for many months this source of supply is cut off by the rigors of winter. Mr M'Kenney indulges a kind and generous hope, that the condition of these Indians may be meliorated. Such a hope must find a concurrent sentiment in every breast; but we fear there is little practical encouragement for any scheme of this nature, unless they be regarded as national paupers, and supported accordingly. They are cast on a sterile shore, which the industry of even white men could hardly cause to bring forth an increase. But their privations spring from their birthright, and they suffer as their fathers have suffered before them. If they have not heretofore been induced, by the repulsive sterility of their native soil, and the ease with which they can change their ambulatory homes,

to seek out a more genial and abundant clime ; we apprehend that the government could offer no sufficient inducement to such an emigration. Some instances, which may be taking place among the Southern Indians, are no proof in point. Crowded, threatened, and persecuted, the Creeks may be said to have no choice. But we must leave a subject which presses upon us a thousand reflections.

The commissioners, on their return, visited the island of Michillimackinac, and some striking sketches are given of its wild and singular features. Excepting the Pictured Rocks, this island is undoubtedly the most attractive object in the country of the lakes. It is about three miles in diameter, and, in the vicinity of the main and other islands, bearing little similarity of character, rises out of the lake, with a rampart-like shore on almost every side, of about an hundred and fifty feet in height, and gradually ascends from the edge of this precipice to the centre, where it terminates in a cone, whose peak is about three hundred feet from the water level. This acclivity is mostly covered with trees. As this island stands in the strait connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan, the great thoroughfare of the lakes, it has always had great notoriety among the aborigines, and, striking on their fanciful eyes with its peculiarity of form, appears to have been immemorially the object of their admiration and worship. As the observer approaches it from Lake Huron, and finds the minuter features of the island gradually unfolding to his view, the first that strikes his eye is the military blockhouse upon the summit, whose square outline rests on the sky ; following down the slope, the eye is next attracted by Fort Mackina, whose whitened walls stand on the brink of the precipitous bank, overhanging the little bay immediately beneath, around whose shores, upon a level with the lake, is collected the village of Mackina. These three objects mark distinctly the three gradations of the island. We have not space for much more than a simple enumeration of the remarkable objects which have engaged the attention of our traveller. The *Arched Rock*, or *Giant's Arch*, as Mr Schoolcraft terms it, is described as being singular and picturesque in the highest degree. In comparison with the *Natural Bridge* in Virginia, this arch may in many respects have the advantage. The Natural Bridge presents few appearances of convulsion or ruins. It seems to have been formed by a silent and gradual process of elemental dissolution, and,

standing 'fixed in its own tranquillity,' strikes the cursory observer as some rude achievement of art. But the Arched Rock at Mackina strides over a slope of massy fragments, that spread down the bank in such wild disorder, as to refer its origin at once to some uncommon disturbance of nature; while the apparently slight adhesion of the different parts of the arch excite a wonder that it should so long have balanced itself in the upper air. Mr Schoolcraft, in his Narrative Journal, says, 'Its abutments are the calcareous rock common to the island, and have been created by the falling down of enormous masses of rock, leaving a chasm of eighty or ninety feet in height, and crowned with an arch of fifty or sixty feet sweep, having the usual curve of factitious arches.'

The *Sugar Loaf Rock* is a natural cone of about thirty feet diameter at its base, and between eighty and ninety feet high, its general outline resembling the usual shape of a sugar loaf. A few stunted trees grow out of the crevices in its sides. The *Scul Rock* is another lofty and insulated mass, having a cavern at its base, which has become interesting by many traditions. A great quantity of human bones have been found in this cavern, the deposit of which in such a place, not being satisfactorily accounted for by the generally known customs of the savages, has been the subject of some speculation.

But we must close these remarks. Although Mr Schoolcraft's journal through Lake Superior was still fresh in our memory, and we could hardly expect any thing new in a tour over the same route, saving personal adventures, yet we followed Mr M'Kenney from the Sault de Ste Marie to the Fond du Lac, finding ourselves entertained with many lively descriptions of scenery and many well told anecdotes relating to Indian manners and modes of thought. His friend and correspondent requested him 'to set down every thing.' However acceptable to the partial eye of such a person a literal fulfilment of this request might be, we cannot but think, that, when these extemporaneous and desultory notes were about to be submitted to the public, much pruning and condensation would have been judicious. Mr M'Kenney was generally known to have been some time connected with the Indian Department, and to have made this tour in the capacity of commissioner to treat with the Indians, and the public perhaps naturally expected that his book would contain more new and substantial information on subjects connected with them. A liberal, benevolent, and

gentlemanly feeling prevails throughout the work, and we know of no tourist who appears to have moved along in better humor with every thing around him.

If we objected to the first hundred and more pages, as being a redundancy in a tour like this, we cannot but regard the last thirty or forty as being still more liable to the same objection. No charm of writing, or ingenuity of thought, could infuse an interest into such a twice told tale.

ART. V.—*Servian Popular Poetry*, translated by JOHN BOWRING. London. 1827. 12mo. pp. 235.

If we run our eyes over the map of European Turkey, we shall discover in its northwestern borders a small province called Servia, laved on the north by the waters of 'the dark rolling Danube,' and on the south separated from Albania and Macedonia by ridges of lofty mountains. History has recorded little to acquaint us with the origin, government, and character of the inhabitants of Servia. Gibbon leaves them, as he had found them, nearly in the dark, and comforts his readers with observing, that the country which they inhabit is one of the most hidden regions of Europe. Mr Bowring has searched, with some success, for facts to illustrate the history and condition of the people, whose charming poetry he has clothed in an English dress with so much spirit and apparent truth. These facts are derived from the highest sources, but they are scanty, and no pretension is made to a continued narrative.

The author carries us not back beyond the middle of the seventh century, at which period certain tribes of Slavonians began to spread themselves along the Danube and Sava, who, in process of time, became distinctly marked out into six kingdoms, four of which, that is, Servia, Bosnia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, were comprised under the sonorous name of *Srb*. Their early history is yet a study for the antiquarian; the learned even disagree as to the meaning of this cognomen; some derive it from *Srp*, a sickle, but wherefore a sickle is not told; some would trace it to the Latin *servus*; and some refer it to other sources; but Dobrowsky declares, after

examining all the dialects (*consultis etiam dialectis omnibus*), that its signification is not to be found out. Be this as it may, the Servians grew into a separate nation, and before the end of the seventh century they built the city of Servica, on the banks of the Danube. For a time they were tributary to the Greeks, and then they warred with the Hungarians, their neighbors. Next they leagued with the Roman emperors against Comnenus, the Grecian monarch. Again they were subdued by the Greeks, from whose control they were but partially relieved, when the Hungarians came down upon them from the north, and put them under a king subject to a foreign power. This yoke was soon thrown off, but another, not less onerous, was imposed, in the shape of an aristocracy of dukes, princes, and nobles, set up among themselves.

Such were the vicissitudes of Servia, till near the end of the fourteenth century, when it was governed by a very popular monarch, who had made himself renowned for his successful wars against the Greeks, and esteemed for his virtues. His immediate successor was Lazar, memorable for the signal defeat suffered by himself and the whole Servian army, on the fatal field of Kossova, in a battle with the Turks, led on by the Sultan Murad. With this catastrophe the setting sun of liberty cast its last gleams on the hills of Servia. It was a theme of melancholy recollection, for which the Servian muse has often been invoked by her most gifted bards. From that time Servia was a dependent province, doomed to be enslaved by different masters, as the Turks or Hungarians gained the ascendancy. Thousands of her sons fled from their native land, and sought a refuge in Russia, Hungary, and other northern countries. Within the present century, Servia has shaken off the Turkish bondage, and is now governed by a prince, called Milosh Obrenowich, under the protection of Austria.

The Servian language is a shoot from the old Slavonian stock, and Mr Bowring tells us it is 'the most cultivated, the most interesting, and the most widely spread, of all the southern Slavonian dialects.' It is spoken by five millions of people, about two millions of whom are Mahommedans. The Slavonian runs out into two branches, comprising the Bohemian, Polish, and Russian dialects on the north, and the Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Servian on the south. This last dialect has been softened by the proximity of the Servians to Italy and Greece, especially in having the bristly surface of its consonants smoothed

down, and in receiving vowel terminations. By this process it has become better adapted to poetry and music, than its kindred idioms of the north. The Turks have contributed their share to the Servian vocabulary, but without affecting the original structure of the language. With an instrument of thought thus polished and enriched, it is no wonder that minstrels should be moved to give utterance to their inspirations. Schaffarik is quoted by Mr Bowring, as describing the different Slavonic tongues 'fancifully but truly,' when he says, that 'Servian song resembles the tune of the violin; old Slavonian, that of the organ; Polish, that of the guitar. The old Slavonian, in its psalms, sounds like the rush of the mountain stream; Polish, like the bubbling and sparkling of a fountain; and the Servian, like the quiet murmuring of a streamlet in the valley.'

That there was such a thing in existence, as Servian literature, is a discovery of very recent date. Göthe long ago translated, from a French version, the beautiful Servian ballad, entitled the *Lament of Hassan Aga's Wife*. Its origin was doubtful, however, till it appeared in a collection of Servian songs, published about three years ago at Leipzig. The first intelligence, we believe, which the English reader obtained of this newly discovered treasure of poetry, was from an article in the eleventh number of the Westminster Review, containing translations from Vuk's collection, and being a sort of prelude to Mr Bowring's volume. It may be presumed, indeed, to have proceeded from the same ready hand. Since that time the Quarterly has given us other specimens, and we are now favored with the result of Mr Bowring's labors, in the translations from the Servian minstrelsy, which he has published in a separate form. Dr Vuk is a Servian by birth, and was educated at Karlovitz. He afterwards resided in Vienna, where he became acquainted with men of letters, and soon devoted his thoughts and researches to the literature of his native country, particularly to its popular poetry. Thirteen years ago he published in that city a Servian grammar, to which were appended Servian songs. Since that period, in addition to the volumes of poetry, from which Mr Bowring's translations are made, he has published at different times a collection of Servian Tales; a treatise on the Servian tongue as compared with the other Slavonic idioms; and also a specimen of a translation of the New Testament into Servian. He is now understood to be in some way connected with the household of the Hospodar of Servia, and employed in gather-

ing for future publication a fresh supply of the popular poetry of his country.

The republic of letters is under lasting obligations to Mr Bowring for the zeal and perseverance, with which he has applied himself to an investigation of the northern languages of Europe, and for the unrivalled manner in which he has transferred into his own tongue poetical treasures, hitherto concealed in the rude idioms of the bards by whom they were first sung. He is himself a genuine poet; and when to this highest gift of genius we add an aptitude for acquiring languages, a knowledge of various European dialects, a quick perception of the poetical images and associations of different countries, and, above all, a remarkable facility in catching the spirit of a foreign author, and making it live and breathe in his own idiom with all its original force and peculiarity, we then have a rare assemblage of qualities, which solve at once the enigma of the translator's success. In his poetical sympathies Mr Bowring is emphatically a citizen of the world, confined to no place or time. With the minstrels of Russia, Poland, Servia, and other countries, he is apparently as much at ease, as if they had been his inmates from infancy under his native skies, and he enters with equal readiness into their local associations, feelings, and attachments; looking out upon the broad compass of nature, tracing its varied forms, and recognising the manners and social habits of different nations and ages, with a familiarity that would seem to betray an intimate companionship. Through whatever region his imagination strays, it has the remarkable power of acquiring the hue of the objects around it, and of reflecting even the most delicate tints strongly and distinctly. He everywhere shows himself

‘ A lover of the meadows and the woods
And mountains; and of all that we behold
From this green earth; of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear, both what they half create
And what perceive.’

Mr Bowring's *Russian Anthology*, containing translations from the best Russian poets, was well received in England, and republished in this country. Since the appearance of that work, he has presented to the world *Specimens of the Polish Poets*, with a history of the poetical literature of Poland; the *Batavian Anthology*, or specimens of the Dutch poets; a work, entitled *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*; and one, called

Matins and Vespers, which, together with translations and imitations of some of the best devotional poetry in the German and other tongues, contains not a few exquisite original pieces, and of which, we are happy to find, an edition has just proceeded from the American press. And now we are greeted with the volume of *Servian Popular Poetry*; and a promise of the translator is also before the public to send out shortly *Finnish Runes* accompanied by a history of the poetry and mythology of Finland. Thus every corner of Europe seems destined to come under his researches, and to yield up, at his command, its hidden stores of literature. The community of letters all over the world, will rejoice in the success of his conquests.

As sources of history these acquisitions will not be without their value, especially the poetry of uncivilized nations, delineating the scenes of barbarous ages. There are instances in which compositions of this sort constitute the entire records of events. The poetry of the Servians, for a long course of time, dwelt only in the recollection of the people; writing was not in use among them till recently; and the great acts of their ancestors, as well as some of the more remarkable occurrences of common life, were transmitted in song, and kept alive from one generation to another by oral repetition. The historian Raich, in his description of the Slavonian people, published within the last thirty years, cites the Servian ballads as authority. So it was with the Greeks and Spartans in early times. Their laws were composed in verse, and transmitted by tradition. The deeds of heroes were perpetuated in the same manner. The natives of the western world had their poetical traditions. Such were the materials from which Garcilaso formed his account of the Incas of Peru, and such are the war songs and legends of our North American Indians. The history, which has been derived from these fabulous sources, can make little pretension to truth of narrative; it may, however, give impressions of the character, manners, and passions of a people, their morals and religion, their social customs and degree of refinement. These are often of more consequence, than minute details of battles and sieges, movements of armies and the intrigues of a court; they are, in fact, among the results at which all history aims, or ought to aim; their influence is to instruct the mind and improve the heart by the experience of past ages.

Mr Bowring arranges his specimens of Servian poetry in two classes ; first, such as he calls *historical, traditional, and religious ballads* ; secondly, *lyrics, songs, and occasional poems*. We shall select a few examples from each of these classes. The first ballad in order is entitled the ‘Abduction of the Beautiful Iconia.’ The story is told with spirit and simplicity, although the adventure itself is less extraordinary, than the manner of bringing it about. The heroes of the Iliad were wont to sit in halls, and drink wine, and sometimes to elope with a fair damsel, as the Trojans experienced to their cost. In later days the nobles of Servia were addicted to similar practices.

‘Golden wine drinks Theodore of Stalach
In his Castle Stalach, on Morava ;
Pours him out the wine his aged mother.
While the wine-fumes to his head were rising,
Thus his mother spoke unto the hero ;
“Son of mine ! thou Theodore of Stalach !
Tell me, wherefore hast thou not espoused thee ?
Thou art in thy youthful days of beauty ;
In thy dwelling now thine aged mother
Fain would see thy children play around her.”’ p. 3.

The duteous Theodore seems nothing loth to listen to his mother’s counsel. His approval is tempered, however, with reflections on the past, indicating a mind not perfectly tranquil. He complains, that, after having sought for a fair one to his liking ‘through many a land and city,’ his mother’s kindness toward the object of his choice had not been conspicuous ; and where she had shown a ‘friendly feeling,’ he had ‘found the maiden false and faithless.’ These are discouraging presages for the future, yet he tells her that his thoughts are bent on another, the ‘beauteous Iconia,’ whom he had seen the day before with ‘thirty lovely maidens,’ bleaching yarn and linen on a river’s bank.

‘She, indeed, would be a bride to cherish ;
She, indeed, were worthy of thy friendship.
But that maiden is betrothed already ;
She is promised unto George Irēnē—
To Irene, for Sredoi, his kinsman.
But I’ ll win that maiden—I will win her,
Or will perish in the deed, my mother !’ p. 4.

Against this rash resolution, of course, the cautious mother

remonstrates, and reminds her son, that the maid is not only betrothed to another, but is of 'monarch's kindred,' and the consequences may be perilous.

'But the hero cared not for his mother ;
Loud he called to Dōbrivi, his servant—
"Dobrivi ! come hither, trusty servant !
Bring my brown steed forth, and make him ready—
Make him ready, with the silver saddle ;
Rein him with the gold-embroider'd bridle."
When the steed was ready, forth he hasten'd,
Flung him on his back, and spurr'd him onward
To the gentle river of Morava,
Flowing through Resava's quiet levels.

And he reach'd Resava's gentle river ;
There again he saw the thirty maidens—
There he saw the beauteous Iconia.
Then the hero feign'd a sudden sickness ;
Ask'd for help ; and sped her courteous greeting—
"God above be with thee, lovely maiden !"
And the loveliest to his words made answer,
"And with thee be bliss, thou stranger-warrior !"

"Lovely maiden ! for the love of heaven,
Wilt thou give one cup of cooling water ?
For a fiery fever glows within me ;
From my steed I dare not rise, fair maiden !
For my steed, he hath a trick of evil—
Twice he will not let his rider mount him."

Warm and earnest was the maiden's pity,
And, with gentle voice, she thus address'd him ;
"Nay ! not so—not so, thou unknown warrior !
Harsh and heavy is Resava's water ;
Harsh and heavy e'en for healthful warriors ;
How much worse for fever-sickening tired ones !
Wait, and I a cup of wine will bring thee."

Swiftly tripp'd the maiden to her dwelling ;
With a golden cup of wine return'd she,
Which she reach'd to Theodore of Stalach.
Out he stretch'd his hand ; but not the wine cup,
But the maiden's hand he seized, and flung her,
Flung her on his chesnut steed behind him ;
Thrice he girt her with his leathern girdle,
And the fourth time with his sword-belt bound her ;
And he bore her to his own white dwelling.' pp. 5—7.

The 'Stepsisters' is a tragic tale of jealousy, and depicts that baleful passion in a hideous form. It is the jealousy of a wife, caused by her husband's affection for his sister. The beautiful polish of the poetry exhibits a striking contrast to the barbarous manners of the age, in which the ballad must have been composed.

'Near each other grew two verdant larches,
And, between, a high and slender fir tree;
Not two larches were they—not two larches,
Not a high and slender fir between them—
They were brothers, children of one mother.
One was Paul; the other brother, Radul.
And, between them, Jelitza, their sister.
Cordial was the love her brothers bore her;
Many a token of affection gave her,
Many a splendid gift and many a trifle,
And at last a knife, in silver hafterd,
And adorn'd with gold, they gave their sister.' p. 8.

These tokens of love to Jelitza from her brothers excite the violent hatred of Paul's wife, who resolves on her destruction, and first endeavors to enlist the wife of Radul in her purpose, but without effect. Her next aim is to make her husband the instrument of her vengeance. She kills his horse, and charges it to Jelitza; to this Paul gives no heed. She wrings the neck of his 'grey noble falcon,' and lays the crime again to Jelitza; Paul is still unmoved. She is not to be baffled in her designs; she steals the 'golden knife,' murders with it her own infant, conceals it, reeking with blood, under the pillow of Jelitza, and calls on her husband to avenge the atrocious act.

'Up sprang Paul, like one possess'd by madness;
To the upper floor he hasten'd wildly;
There his sister on her mats was sleeping,
And the golden knife beneath her pillow.
Swift he seized the golden knife,—and drew it—
Drew it, panting, from its silver scabbard;—
It was damp with blood—'t was red and gory!

When the noble Paul saw this, he seized her,—
Seized her by her own white hand, and cursed her;
"Let the curse of God be on thee, sister!
Thou didst murder, too, my favorite courser;
Thou didst murder, too, my noble falcon;
But thou should'st have spared the helpless baby."

Higher yet his sister swore, and louder—
 “ ’T was not I, upon my life, my brother ;
 On my life, and on thy life, I swear it !
 But if thou wilt disregard my swearing,
 Take me to the open fields—the desert ;
 Bind thy sister to the tails of horses ;
 Let four horses tear my limbs asunder.”
 But the brother trusted not his sister ;
 Furiously he seized her white hand—bore her
 To the distant fields—the open desert ;
 To the tails of four fierce steeds he bound her,
 And he drove them forth across the desert ;—
 But, where’er a drop of blood fell from her,
 There a flower sprung up,—a fragrant flow’ret ;
 Where her body fell when dead and mangled,
 There a church arose from out the desert.” pp. 11—12.

After this catastrophe the hand of Heaven falls heavily upon Paul’s wife ; she is smitten with a painful and loathsome sickness, which tortures her for ‘ nine long years,’ till

‘Midst her bones the matted dog grass sprouted,
 And amidst it nestled angry serpents,
 Which, though hidden, drank her eyelight’s brightness.’

As the last hope of relief, she begs to be carried to Jelitza’s church. When she approaches it, a voice cries from within, ‘ Come not hither,’ assuring her that no remedy is there. Borne down with anguish and despair, she implores her husband to end her misery by the same death that his sister had suffered. She is torn asunder by horses, and thus the tragedy closes, by rendering poetical justice, in its full measure, to the wretched victim of her passions and crimes.

‘Wheresoe’er a drop of blood fell from her,
 There sprang up the rankest thorns and nettles.
 Where her body fell, when dead, the waters
 Rush’d and form’d a lake both still and stagnant.
 O’er the lake there swam a small black courser ;
 By his side a golden cradle floated ;
 On the cradle sat a young grey falcon ;
 In the cradle, slumbering, lay an infant ;
 On its throat the white hand of its mother ;
 And that hand a golden knife was holding.’ p. 14.

In the story of ‘ Ajkuna’s Marriage,’ we have the old troublesome affair of settling the claims between wealth and

merit, in the preliminaries of matrimony. As it happened of yore, even in the half barbarous regions of Servia, so we suppose it has often happened since, and in more civilized countries. The fair one is prone to form a different estimate of these matters from that of her more prudent parents or guardians. It was Ajkuna's fate to be of this number.

‘She was lovely—nothing e’er was lovelier;
 She was tall and slender as the pine tree;
 White her cheeks, but tinged with rosy blushes,
 As if morning’s beam had shown upon them,
 Till that beam had reach’d its high meridian;
 And her eyes, they were two precious jewels;
 And her eyebrows, leeches from the ocean;
 And her eyelids, they were wings of swallows;
 Silken tufts the maiden’s flaxen ringlets;
 And her sweet mouth was a sugar casket;
 And her teeth were pearls array’d in order;
 White her bosom, like two snowy dovelets;
 And her voice was like the dovelet’s cooing;
 And her smiles were like the glowing sunshine;
 And the fame, the story of her beauty
 Spread through Bosnia and through Herzgovina,’
 pp. 27, 28.

Such a paragon of female loveliness was not doomed to a solitary existence. The spouse of Ulysses was never surrounded by a more obsequious crowd of suitors. Ajkuna's choice depended on the will of her brother. By striking off one and another, he reduced the throng of candidates to two, ‘the old grey-headed Mustaph Aga,’ and ‘Suko of Ubdinia,’ and desired her to choose between them. Mustaph Aga came laden with ‘thousand golden coins,’ divers vessels of solid gold, and a diamond of huge dimensions, that surpassed the sun’s brightness, and turned midnight into noonday. As for Suko, a poor dozen of ducats, a steed, and a sabre, were all his possessions. He

‘dwelt upon the country’s border,
 As the falcon dwells among the breezes.’

Ajkuna professed entire submission to her brother’s will, yet she ventured to insinuate a lurking inclination, and a preference. In reply to his eulogy of Mustaph Aga’s treasures, she said,

‘But I’d rather choose a youthful lover,
 Howsoever small that youth’s possessions,

Than be wedded to old age, though wealthy.
Wealth—it is not gold—it is not silver ;
Wealth—is to possess what most we cherish.’

The brother’s ears were not open to this mixture of sentiment and logic ; with him to choose was not to prefer ; he gave the maid to ‘ that old white-bearded man,’ and fixed on the day for the nuptial rites. At the time appointed, the bridal guests assembled, and among them Suko, whose office it was to bear the ‘ bridal banner.’ The poet may tell the rest of the story, and describe, in his own numbers, the devices of love when reduced to an extremity.

‘ At the dwelling of the lovely maiden,
Three white days the bridal crowd had linger’d,—
When the fourth day dawn’d, at early morning,
Forth they led the maiden from her dwelling ;
And ere yet far-off they had proceeded,
Ere they reach’d the flat and open country,
Turn’d the lovely maiden to the leader,
And into his ear these words she whisper’d ;
“ Tell me now, my golden ring, my brother !
Who is chosen for the maiden’s bridegroom ? ”
Softly did the marriage-leader answer ;
“ Sweetest sister ! fairest maid, Ajkuna !
Look to right, and look to left, about thee ;
Dost thou see that old man in the distance,
Who like an effendi sits so proudly
In the farthest palanquin of scarlet,
Whose white beard o’ercovers all his bosom ?
Lo ! it is the aged Mustaph Aga ;
He it is who ’s chosen for thy bridegroom.”

And the maiden look’d around the circle
And within her sad heart sighing deeply,
Once again she ask’d the marriage-leader ;
“ Who is he upon that white horse seated,
He who bears so high aloft the banner,
On whose chin that sable beard is growing ? ”
And the leader answers thus the maiden ;
“ He ’s the hero Suko of Urbinia ;
He who for thee with thy brother struggled,—
Struggled well indeed, but could not win thee.”
When the lovely maiden heard the leader,
On the black, black earth, anon she fainted ;
All to raise her, hastening, gather round her,

And the last of all came Mustaph Aga ;
 None could lift her from the ground, till Suko
 Sticks into the earth his waving banner,
 Stretches out his right hand to the maiden.
 See her, see her ! from the ground upspringing,
 Swift she vaults upon his steed behind him ;
 Rapidly he guides the courser onwards,
 Swift they speed across the open desert,
 Swift as ever star across the heavens.

When the old man saw it, Mustaph Aga,
 Loud he screamed with voice of troubled anger ;
 " Look to this, ye bidden to the wedding !
 He, the robber ! bears away my maiden ;
 See her, see her borne away for ever."
 But one answer met the old man's wailings ;
 " Let the hawk bear off the quail in safety,—
 Bear in safety—she was born to wed him ;
 Thou, retire thee to thy own white dwelling !
 Blossoms not for thee so fair a maiden ! " pp. 31—34.

These specimens of the ballads must suffice, although there are others that might be quoted with equal advantage ; particularly the ' Lament of Hassan Aga's Wife,' and the ' Building of Scadra,' the former containing a pathetic illustration of maternal tenderness conflicting with the wounded feelings produced by a husband's neglect, and the latter founded on the wild superstition, that the fortress of Scadra, now Scutari, could not be raised, till a female had been sacrificed by being built up alive in its walls. Both these ballads are tragical, and are examples of highly wrought pathos.

With a few specimens from the songs and occasional poems we shall fill up the remaining space allotted to this article. These are various in their subjects and poetical merit, but they are uniformly marked with a simplicity, good taste, and refined sentiment, that would entitle them to a high rank in the imaginative literature of a people much farther advanced in civilization, than the Servians could have been. The following beautiful little poem Göthe calls ' wonderful,' and, considering the origin of these compositions, the same epithet may be applied with scarcely less force to many others.

FAREWELL.

' Against white Buda's walls, a vine
 Doth its white branches fondly twine ;

O, no ; it was no vine tree there ;
 It was a fond, a faithful pair,
 Bound each to each in earliest vow—
 And, O ! they must be severed now !
 And these their farewell words ; “ We part—
 Break from my bosom—break—my heart !
 Go to a garden—go, and see,
 Some rose-branch blushing on the tree ;
 And from that branch a rose-flower tear,
 Then place it on thy bosom bare ;
 And as its leavelets fade and pine,
 So fades my sinking heart in thine.”
 And thus the other spoke ; “ My love !
 A few short paces backward move,
 And to the verdant forest go ;
 There ’s a fresh water fount below ;
 And in the fount a marble stone,
 Which a gold cup reposes on ;
 And in the cup a ball of snow—
 Love ! take that ball of snow to rest
 Upon thine heart within thy breast.
 And as it melts unnoticed there,
 So melts my heart in thine, my dear ! ”’ pp. 112—114.

Some of the pieces in the following promiscuous selection are inferior to this, yet they contain genuine touches of nature, and would do credit to the lyrics of any nation, whether as breathing the spirit of poesy, or describing the workings of the gentler passions. Love was an inspiring theme with the Servian minstrels, and they handled it with tenderness and delicacy.

INQUIRY.

‘ A maiden sat on th’ ocean shore,
 And held this converse with herself ;
 “ O God of goodness and of love !
 What ’s broader than the mighty sea,
 And what is longer than the field,
 And what is swifter than the steed,
 What sweeter than the honey dew,
 What dearer than a brother is ? ”
 A fish thus answered from the sea ;
 “ O maid ! thou art a foolish girl.
 The heaven is broader than the sea ;
 The sea is longer than the field ;
 The eye is swifter than the steed ;
 Sugar more sweet than honey dew ;
 Dearer than brother is thy love.”’ p. 184.

THE VIOLET.

‘ How captivating is to me,
 Sweet flower ! thine own young modesty !
 Though did I pluck thee from thy stem,
 There ’s none would wear thy purple gem.
 I thought, perchance, that Ali Bey—
 But he is proud and lofty—nay !
 He would not prize thee—would not wear
 A flower so feeble though so fair ;
 His turban for its decorations
 Has full blown roses and carnations.’ p. 115.

FROZEN HEART.

‘ Thick fell the snow upon St George’s day ;
 The little birds all left their cloudy bed ;
 The maiden wander’d barefoot on her way ;
 Her brother bore her sandals, and he said ;
 “ O sister mine ! cold, cold thy feet must be.”
 “ No ! not my feet, sweet brother ! not my feet—
 But my poor heart is cold with misery.
 There ’s nought to chill me in the snowy sleet ;
 My mother—’t is my mother who hath chill’d me,
 Bound me to one who with disgust hath fill’d me.”’ p. 137.

SECRETS DIVULGED.

‘ Two lovers kiss each other in the meadows ;
 They think that no one sees the fond betrayal,
 But the green meadows see them, and are faithless ;
 To the white flocks incontinent they say all ;
 And the white flocks proclaim it to the shepherd,
 The shepherd to a high-road traveller brings it ;
 He to a sailor on the restless ocean tells it,
 The sailor to his spice-ship thoughtless sings it ;
 The spice-ship whispers it upon the waters,
 The waters rush to tell the maiden’s mother.

And thus impassioned spoke the lovely-maiden—
 “ Meadows ! of spring-days never see another !
 Flocks ! may the cruel ravenous wolves destroy ye.
 Thee, shepherd ! may the cruel Moslem slaughter.
 Wanderer ! may oft thy slippery footsteps stumble.
 Thee, sailor ! may the ocean billows smother.
 Ship ! may a fire unquenchable consume thee ;
 And sink into the earth, thou treacherous water ! ”’

pp. 161, 162.

THE KNITTER.

'The maiden sat upon the hill,
 Upon the hill and far away,
 Her fingers wove a silken cord,
 And thus I heard the maiden say ;
 "O with what joy, what ready will,
 If some fond youth, some youth adored,
 Might wear thee, should I weave thee now !
 The finest gold I 'd interblend,
 The richest pearls as white as snow.
 But if I knew, my silken friend,
 That an old man should wear thee, I
 The coarsest worsted would inweave,
 Thy finest silk for dog-grass leave,
 And all thy knots with nettles tie." ' p. 124.

THE CHOICE.

'He slept beneath a poplar tree ;
 And three young maidens cross'd the way ;
 I listen'd to the lovely three,
 And heard them to each other say ;—
 "Now what is dearest, love ! to thee ?"
 The eldest said—"Young Ranko's ring
 Would be to me the dearest thing."
 "No ! not for me," the second cried ;
 "I 'd choose the girdle from his side."
 "Not I," the youngest said—"In truth,
 I 'll rather have the sleeping youth.
 The ring, O sister, will grow dim,
 The girdle will ere long be broken ;
 But this is an eternal token,—
 His love for me, and mine for him." ' p. 177.

The mythology of the Servians is not very well defined. There is an invisible personage, however, who is sometimes brought into action, and to whom great powers are ascribed. 'An omnipresent spirit,' says Mr Bowring, 'airy and fanciful, making its dwelling in solitudes, and ruling over mountains and forests, a being called the *Vila*, is heard to issue its irresistible mandates, and pour forth its prophetic inspiration ; sometimes in a form of female beauty, sometimes a wilder Diana, now a goddess gathering or dispersing the clouds, and now an owl among ruins and ivy. The *Vila*, always capricious, and frequently malevolent, is a most important actor in all the popular poetry of Servia. She is equally renowned for the beauty of her person,

and the swiftness of her step.' This Vila has a resemblance to the *Peri* of the Persians. The tragical incident in the 'Building of Scadra' was owing to her imperious decree. She demanded the sacrifice of a human victim before the walls could be raised. In the following lines, *vishnia* means 'the Vistula cherry tree,' to which the Vilas are said to be partial.

VILAS.

'Vishnia! lovely vishnia!
Lift thy branches higher;
For beneath thy branches,
Vilas dance delighted;
While Radisha dashes
From the flow'rs the dewdrops.
Vilas two conveying,
To the third he whispers;
"O be mine, sweet Vila!
Thou, with mine own mother,
In the shade shalt seat thee;
Silken vestments spinning,
Weaving golden garments.'" p. 157.

We cannot take leave of this little volume of Servian poems, without expressing our unfeigned acknowledgment to the translator for this new gem, which he has added to the diadem of English literature. His labors in the novel walks, which he has chosen, have all been successful and important, and none more so than the last. After the agreeable entertainment he has now given us, we shall be impatient to meet him again in his *Finnish Runes*, and learn from his report what the muses have deigned to sing on the northern borders of the Baltic.

ART. VI.—*The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright.*

Edited by his Niece, F. D. CARTWRIGHT. 2 vols. 8vo.
London. 1826.

THE distinction between great wit and madness is not more nice, according to the satirist, than that between revolutions and revolts, reformers and alarmists. Even with minds of a passable share of liberality, there is, we fear, some little odium in ill success. The hero is not always complete to the vulgar eye,

unless he gains his point; and he may think himself happy to secure even the secondary fame of the martyr. Nay, the reformer, who has incurred the disapprobation of an age or a people, that he has been unable to carry along with him, sometimes even with the best grounds for his appeal, fails to have his sentence reversed by posterity, though it be, in common cases, the most impartial of tribunals. The adventurer in physical philosophy is much more secure of this posthumous justice, because his principles are equally true under all circumstances, and the glory of discovery necessarily remains with him, who demonstrates them first. But the opinions of the political philosopher may be entirely just, his aims most patriotic and laudable, and a future age, or a different community, may applaud and adopt them, yet he himself, if he do not meanwhile fall into oblivion, remain the victim of the obloquy which he incurred during his lifetime. The reason is, we suppose, that if not his principles, at least the circumstances under which he would enforce them, and the means and occasions he selects, are to be estimated by the mutable moral circumstances of society; and that the expediency by which his enterprises are to be measured, is often not more easily ascertained by posterity than it is at the moment of action. Besides, as a politician may sometimes in his theories transcend the possible in this imperfect condition of things, so he may outgo the general progress of opinion in his age or nation; and, though this cannot alter the truth, it may, in the most sober judgment, affect the estimate of his mode of contending for it. To not a few of these political reformers it happens, indeed, as to the pioneer in a new country, who enters the wilderness, and perishes in it, which his children afterwards inhabit in safety and opulence.

They, who thus unsuccessfully lead the war against the political errors of their own age or country, can hardly, at least, expect praise from those whom they have vainly attempted to mend. If they cannot content themselves with that reward which arises, according to metaphysicians, out of the mere perception of truth, apart from the praise which is due to the discovery of it, they must therefore carry their appeal to those from whose later age, or more fortunate moral circumstances, a less partial judgment may be hoped. Perhaps the subject of the memoir, of which the title stands at the head of this article, has some claim to enter an appeal of this sort with us on this side of the water, while the course of time and events is proving

the worth and truth of his opinions in his own country. His principles appear, indeed, to have been much better suited to the meridian of America than of England, where it was his fate, through a long life, to labor in their assertion with an ardor, which might be deemed importunate in a cause less honest, and to die nearly as remote as ever from their accomplishment, while, in the mean time, the rancor of party has heaped a thousand scurrilities on his name.

We doubt if even in America, the name of this sturdy champion of reform is associated with just notions of his views and character, and whether it does not borrow some stigma from the names in whose company it has often come to us. It was, indeed, a principle of his, that if his cause was good, it was a small concern with whom he went forth to battle for it. Yet this 'old radical,' this 'heart of sedition,' as Mr Canning once called him, and whom we are apt to name with a Hunt and a Cobbett, has numbered among his friends, or coadjutors, some of the best and wisest geniuses that have adorned our age; a Pitt, a Fox, a Sheridan, a Jones, a Wilberforce, a Whitbread, a Parr, and a Price. The history of his various political connexions presents some edifying commentaries on the progressive growth of patriots into placemen; and it will probably strike most readers of the occurrences of his times, that neither the extreme to which our reformer was accused of carrying his doctrines, nor the emergencies of the period, will account so well for the desertions and the persecutions he experienced, as certain other considerations, which, to the disgrace of human nature, are so common in politicians, as scarcely any longer to be considered a reproach. In fact, while our upright reformer adhered, with his characteristic pertinacity, to what he deemed the strait line of political rectitude, he found a great many of his associates gambolling in the convenient spiral of *expediency*, which was sometimes, it may be presumed, rather a private than a public expediency. He was a very Sysiphus, whose rock of reform never reached the summit, though he gave it his shoulder full half a century.

But whatever disrespect or ill success may have pursued our champion on his own soil, his name deserves a better reception on ours, where the doctrines of liberty have a wider sway, and where gratitude, too, interposes some claim in his behalf. At a time when no member of the British parliament seems to have conceived, either the justice or the policy of conceding

independence to the colonies, Cartwright had the boldness and the forecast to propose it, suggesting, in his work entitled *American Independence*, a union between the colonies and the mother state, under separate legislatures. The issue is panegyric sufficient on this proposition, of whose advantage to England Mr Laurens was so sensible, that when asked his opinion of it, he made this forcible reply; 'That it was better for the repose of mankind that it should not take place, since it would render the kingdom thus united too formidable to the rest of the world.' Horne Tooke declared, that half a dozen such men as Cartwright, in each county, would have arrested the American war. Indeed, the date of our obligation is older yet; for it appears from Evelyn's Memoirs, that symptoms of resistance to the mother country having manifested themselves in New England in his day, conciliatory measures were adopted in consequence of representations made to the council by Colonel Cartwright, an ancestor of the Major's. As the reformer himself, during many years, and by various publications, proved the steadfast friend of America, he seems to have the like claim with another venerable name, to reparation in the gratitude of this fortunate shore, for what he may have lost in behalf of liberty on another. With a feeling of this kind, combined with a natural and more general interest for all the votaries of liberty, we propose, though the biography of the reformer has not been republished in this country, to give from it some particulars of his life, with the wish to introduce to the better acquaintance of our countrymen a character not, perhaps, generally understood by them.

John Cartwright was born on the seventeenth of September (old style), 1740, at Marnham, in Nottinghamshire. His family was of remote antiquity, and suffered in its possessions by adhering to Charles the First. One of his ancestors was an intimate of the celebrated Cranmer, and married his daughter; and, on the dissolution of the abbeys, received three of them from that prelate, then Archbishop of Canterbury. The abbey of Ossington, a part of this benefaction, is still in the family. The father of the subject of our memoir, was a man of much energy of character, and was also something of a reformer; for to him the public is indebted for the abolition of that bugbear to decayed gentlemen, the practice of giving vails to servants. This measure was solemnly proposed by the Duke of Norfolk, at a county meeting, and Mr Cartwright was the forlorn hope

who first carried it into execution ; for such was the indignation of the serving-men at this invasion of a venerable abuse, that it was really expected the attempt would be followed by serious consequences. John used to say, that his father had a genius for encountering difficulties, of which a better proof can hardly be mentioned, than that he was thirty years engaged in persuading the gentry of his neighborhood to the undertaking of a public work, whose expense did not, in the end, exceed eight thousand pounds. Of the brothers of the reformer, George is well known as the author of a *Journal of Sixteen Years' Residence in Labrador*, and Edmund was a useful mechanician, celebrated for the invention of the power-loom.

At five years of age, John was sent to a grammar school at Newark, and afterwards at Heath Academy, in Yorkshire, to neither of which seminaries does he seem to have owed much obligation. He often complained of the deficiency of his early education, in which, except a little Latin, he acquired no language but his own ; and, like a good many others, he was forced to make up by self instruction, for the neglect or ignorance of the pedagogue. He made some proficiency, however, in mechanics and practical mathematics, by means of which he was afterwards a useful associate to his ingenious brother, Dr Cartwright. His vacations, and a good part of his childhood, were passed under the roof of John Viscount Tyrconnel, who had married his father's sister, and whose sturdy whiggism may have given some bias to the youthful mind of his nephew. It is of this zealous old politician that the story is told, that when divine service was performing in his chapel at Belton, he was observed to be greatly agitated during the reading of the prayer for parliament, stirring the fire with violence, and muttering impatiently to himself, 'Nothing but a miracle can mend them.' Young Cartwright's parents wished to retain him at home, and educate him to agricultural pursuits. But though his temper was extremely gentle, and his exterior calm and contemplative, he was desirous of active employment, and in a sudden fit of enthusiasm for the great Frederick, who was then successfully building up Prussia at the expense of her neighbors, he left home to enlist in his service as a volunteer. This brilliant scheme, which, with a temper as impatient of tyranny as his, was likely to end in Spandau or Magdeburg, had fortunately a more sober termination in his being allowed, at the intercession of his mother, to enter the navy of his own country. The

young sailor was at the taking of Cherbourg, and subsequently in the celebrated seafight between Sir Edward Hawke and the French admiral Conflans, in which, of the twenty-six men he had under his command, thirteen were killed at his side, himself escaping with a slight scratch from a splinter. Lord Howe being afterwards selected to a service of some danger, in the same expedition, chose only one lieutenant and two midshipmen to accompany him, of whom Cartwright was one; a circumstance which gave him extreme satisfaction. Indeed Lord Howe and old Captain Baird, the companion of Lord Anson, seem greatly to have excited the admiration of our young hero. The former was habitually taciturn, and had a solemn gravity of countenance, which procured him from the sailors the nickname of 'Black Dick;' and Cartwright used to relate, that it was a saying among them, 'We are going to have some fun in the fighting way, for Black Dick has a smile on his face.'

While yet a midshipman, and at the age of twenty-one, Cartwright turned his attention to the improvement of the exercise of the great guns on board ship, and his suggestions are given by his friend Falconer, the poet, in his *Marine Dictionary*, under the article 'Exercise.' Always impatient of inaction, he also proposed to Lord Howe to burn some French men-of-war lying at the mouth of the Charente; a project declined as too hazardous, but with high commendations of the young man's spirit and intelligence. In 1762, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and, in 1766, to be first lieutenant of the *Guernsey*, then on the Newfoundland station, where he was appointed by Sir Hugh Palliser, his deputy or surrogate within two districts; in 1767, he was made deputy commissary to the Vice Admiralty Court in Newfoundland. In these posts, and during the whole of his naval service, he possessed the confidence of his superior officers, and excited sentiments of kindness in those under his command, which some of the most distinguished veterans in the navy used afterwards to acknowledge in strong terms. Among them were Admiral Young, Admiral Berkely, Admiral Charles Hamilton, and Captain King, who accompanied Captain Cook round the world. The first sent for his old friend on his death bed, to remind him of their early friendship; and the last used to say, with tears in his eyes, that his friend Cartwright had been a father to him.

During his residence in Newfoundland, he made a short

exploratory journey into the interior, as far as a lake which he named *Lieutenant's Lake*, and which proved to be the source of the river *Exploits*. To this expedition, which occupied him ten or twelve days, and in which, as occurred to him on occasions of a different kind, he left his over-wearied companions behind him, he often reverted with great satisfaction, remarking that he did not wonder at the attachment of hunters and backwoodsmen to this wild and independent sort of life. Amidst these solitary birch woods, whose stillness was seldom disturbed by a deer, or even a bird, and where the whole days' refreshment was perhaps a few whortle or cranberries, it was a luxury to sit at night by a fire of pine branches, on which he broiled his supper of reindeer's flesh, and then to sleep soundly on a bed of birch bark and leaves. On his return from this country to England, he brought with him an Esquimaux woman, from whose astonishment at every thing she saw, 'I derived,' he says, 'a singular entertainment.' Though brought up a barbarian, she soon became not a little civilized, showing no lack, at least, of those passions which distinguish polite ladies in refined countries; for, though a fright herself, she found much fault with the Englishwomen's dress, and could by no means allow them to be handsome. To the men, on the contrary, she showed much more justice. There is a well known story of this woman, that, on being shown the interior of St Paul's, she was so struck with astonishment and awe, that her knees shook under her, and, leaning on her conductor, she asked in a tremulous voice, 'Did man make it, or was it found here?' When informed that she must return to her own country, the money for her support being expended, she asked why she could not go into the woods, and kill venison; and when told that she would be hanged if she killed venison in England, she laughed heartily, exclaiming in a tone of great contempt, 'Hanged for killing venison! That's too foolish.'

On quitting Newfoundland, in 1770, Lieutenant Cartwright, with his characteristic disinterestedness, gave in a memorial in behalf of his successor in the deputyship, representing the inadequacy of the pay, though he had himself, for five years, suffered all the inconvenience of it without murmur. In this year he published a letter on the ornamental designs for ships' heads, moved thereto, it would appear, from seeing the head of a ship called the *Queen*, decorated, not with some gentle *personification* of Queen Charlotte, but with a ferocious lion,

with jaws distended for carnage. He suggested in this letter a nautic order of architecture, an idea he afterwards matured in his designs for a temple of naval celebration. He wrote, too, though unacquainted with the inventor, a strong commendation of Bentinck's newly invented chain pump. On the commencement of the Spanish war, on account of the Falkland Islands, he was invited by Lord Howe to be one of his lieutenants, and gladly accepted the offer; but on the dispute being adjusted, he returned home to repair his health, which had been injured by the hardships he encountered in Newfoundland, and which continued indifferent for many years after. He was at one time given up by many of the faculty; but his life was saved by the celebrated Dr James. During this interval he was not idle, however, but employed it in writing a pamphlet on the rights and interests of Fishing Companies; and, notwithstanding his bad state of health, was extremely anxious to be sent on the northern expedition which went out under Captain Phipps. His attention to this subject may be seen in the information, which he supplied to Daines Barrington, in his work on the possibility of approaching the North Pole. In the expeditions of Ross and Parry, at a later day, he felt a very lively interest. In the year 1772, he drew up a plan for a perpetual supply of English oak for the navy, of which a reverend bishop candidly remarked, what might have been said of many other schemes of our reformer, 'We are not honest enough for such plans as these.' This plan, however, after ten years' endeavor on his part to bring it to the notice of government, was afterwards partially adopted, but without any acknowledgment of its author.

In 1774, he wrote his 'Letter to Edmund Burke,' and his attention became turned to political subjects. It was in this year, and about the time that our Patrick Henry broached the same idea here, that he began to print his *Letters on American Independence*. On publishing this work, he caused a short argument to be printed, which, together with the tract itself, was distributed to the members at the door of parliament. He did not argue this great question, like some of his contemporaries, on the ground of charters or acts of parliament, nor, like others, on that of expediency, but on the broad foundation of natural and inherent right. 'It is,' says he, 'a capital error in the reasonings of several writers on this subject, that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate

or chattel, and go about to prove or disprove their right to it, by grants, usage, or municipal statutes. It is not among mouldy parchments that we are to look for it; it is the immediate gift of God; it is not derived from any one, but is original in every one.' 'I deny that Magna Charta is the basis of the English constitution. It is indeed a glorious member of the superstructure, and was but a formal declaration of rights already known to be the constitutional inheritance of every Englishman.' His arguments probably made little impression on the public, which had neither gone so far in the science of liberty, nor was of such a temper towards the colonies, as to render them palatable. *Taxation no Tyranny*, with its narrow principles and unapt illustrations, was better seasoned to its taste, having already gone through three editions. If the welfare of the governed is any argument in these great questions, the present situation of this country says as little for the political wisdom, or the foresight of Johnson, as it is honorable to those of this uncompromising assertor of liberty. Cartwright published a second edition of his work in 1775, in which year he was appointed major of the Nottinghamshire militia, the title by which he was generally distinguished afterwards, and is best known.

He was indefatigable in training this corps, exerting in its discipline his customary inflexibility. On one of the training marches, perceiving that the men loitered in an unmilitary manner, he assured them he would find means to prevent such irregularity in future, and the offence being repeated the next day, he drew them up just as they came in sight of their quarters for the night, and facing them about, marched them three miles back. Another anecdote will show what opinion was had of his integrity. A soldier had been sentenced to be flogged, and was advised, as he had a vote for Nottingham, for which place the Major was proposed, to plead to him for forgiveness. 'It will be of no use,' said the man, 'and for that very reason.' He had to encounter many petty intrigues in this post, and was much annoyed and thwarted, as his political opinions began to be known. He kept it, however, with proportional pertinacity, till in the year 1791, having attended a meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, the Duke of Newcastle sent to inform him, that in consequence of it he could not promote him to the lieutenant colonelcy of the regiment, then vacant. A less determined man would have resigned

in such circumstances ; but the Major was in no humor thus to oblige his pursuers, and even when resort was had to the supposed authority of an act of parliament to displace him, he still remained deaf to the hint. At length the duke commissioned another major in his place ; but to this, considering it illegal, he paid no attention, declaring he should still appear in uniform at his post. His dismissal was accomplished at last, in 1792, by virtue of some recent act of parliament. No soldier, certainly, could have defended his post better ; and we may learn from this anecdote both his obstinate resistance of what he thought injustice, and what sort of odium this untractableness was fitted to excite in his opponents. An old acquaintance used to say of him to his wife, ‘Your husband, madam, is the best bred obstinate man I ever was acquainted with.’

A transaction, which took place in 1776, proved that this firmness obtained also in his political principles. He had always been eager of promotion in the navy, and Lord Howe being appointed at this time to command against the colonies, signified to the Major a desire of having him along with him in America. Cartwright, though very sensible of the advantages of the proposal, and though he was then attached to a lady whom by these means he would have been put into a situation to marry, had the integrity and spirit to refuse it, at some risk even to his reputation as a soldier, alleging that he could not do wrong to his principles, by fighting in a cause which he disapproved. It is stated by his biographer, that some proposition had been made to him about this time, of a command in the American navy ; ‘but I thought,’ said he, ‘that nothing could absolve me from my duty to my own country, and that I ought to stick to the old ship as long as there was a plank of her above water.’ In this year he received the freedom of the town of Nottingham, the compliment being rendered more grateful by being made at the same time to Sir George Saville ; and he wrote his earliest work on parliamentary reform, the first, with the exception of some tracts by the late Earl Stanhope, ever expressly published on the subject.

From this time forward he was devoted to the two great objects of annual parliaments and universal suffrage ; through what difficulties, and with what eventual ill success, is well known to such as are conversant with the history of the times. The work referred to, was called *Take your Choice*, and to the second edition of it he prefixed another, entitled ‘The

Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated;’ in both these tracts he lays down equal representation as a right, and annual election as a security for its preservation. It seems that a passage in ‘Take your Choice’ gave vehement offence to the Duke of Richmond, ‘who, with the book in his pocket, and the offensive leaf turned down, introduced himself to the author.’ The interview, thus inauspiciously begun, had a very different issue from what is usual with two controvertists, resulting not only in mutual satisfaction as to each other’s sentiments, but in a friendship and correspondence of some duration. A short time after, in April, 1777, Major Cartwright presented to the king an address recommending peace with America, and proposing the union, which he had suggested in his *American Independence*. ‘I heartily wish,’ says he in a letter, ‘that his majesty may be wise enough, and good enough, to pay attention to it, as I am very certain he would find it for his happiness and peace.’ His book led him to an acquaintance with Mr Burke, which, from the tory principles always felt perhaps, and, soon after, openly professed by the latter, was probably of very short duration. One of our politician’s most intimate associates was Lord Effingham, who had refused to serve in the American war from like scruples with his friend’s. This nobleman used to say, that he thought Lord North’s life of the greatest consequence to the country, as it was evident, should he die, there would come into the cabinet ‘seven spirits worse than the first.’ The publication at this time, of a pamphlet by the celebrated Dr Price, justifying every material principle asserted in ‘*American Independence*,’ gave great pleasure to its author. ‘It is with infinite satisfaction,’ says he in a letter, ‘that I find the wisest and best men now adopting the plan I was the first to propose four years ago, of entering into an alliance with the colonies as independent states.’

Indefatigable in his pursuits, Cartwright exerted himself in the following year to form a Society of Political Inquiry, and the plan, though ineffectual, probably laid the foundation of the Society for Constitutional Information, instituted in 1789. In the latter end of the year, he was invited to stand for the town of Nottingham; but, on the offering of another candidate, his friends advised him to decline. He was equally unsuccessful in the county, his opponent being supported by the Duke of Portland, who wrote to Major Cartwright, alleging the near relation of the rival candidate to his Grace, and warning him

against a second disappointment. To this the Major replied, that he himself was rather more nearly related to his Grace, if pedigree gave any pretension to a seat in parliament; that as to disappointment in another election, he should do, as he presumed his Grace would, what he thought best for the public good; and, that his Lordship might see he was above flattering any man, that he must necessarily be right because he was a whig, and opposed to a set of very bad ministers. His subsequent efforts for a seat in parliament met with no better success, nor had he ever an opportunity of pressing his political views in that assembly. One cause of this was probably his uncompromising opinions as to the purity of elections. He always declared he would not expend a shilling in an election, even for a ball; and it was in one of these borough negotiations, that he begged it would be remembered, 'that he had no political gratitude.'

When in the year 1779, the British fleet was driven into harbor before the combined fleets of France and Spain, Major Cartwright on the spur of the occasion, formed a plan of defence uniting military and naval operations, to the merit of which the Duke of Richmond, and General Debbieg, bore honorable testimony. He likewise planned a defence of the dockyard at Portsmouth, and devoted some attention to a system of naval surveying, by which to ascertain the exact movements of a fleet during action. Something of the same sort was introduced by Napoleon, as useful in clearing up points respecting manœuvres, involving sometimes the reputation of officers. In the beginning of the next year, a general meeting for the redress of grievances was held in the county of Nottingham, of which he was the original mover. The Duke of Portland was chairman of the committee of correspondence voted by this meeting, and his brother, Lord Edward Bentinck, was chosen a deputy to the convention from the petitioning towns. Cartwright was chosen deputy for the town of Nottingham. Soon after was held at the King's Arms the Westminster Committee, in which resolutions were passed on the state of the representation, and of which Sheridan was chairman. And in the same spring, our politician accomplished what he had long had at heart, the establishment of a Society for Constitutional Information. He himself wrote the first address of this Society, which included some of the first talent and respectability of the kingdom; among the rest, Dr Price, Granville Sharp,

General Fitzpatrick, Lord Surrey (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), the Duke of Richmond, Sir Cecil Wray, Alderman Sawbridge, Sir John Sinclair, Sheridan, Day (author of 'Sandford and Merton'), Dr Edwards, Stratford Canning (uncle of the present premier), the Earl of Selkirk, and others. He was the author also of a 'Declaration of Rights,' published and distributed by the Society, which Sir William Jones said 'ought to be written in letters of gold.' Though little apt to mention what was flattering to himself, the old Major used to relate with great pleasure, that the immortal Chatham exclaimed, on reading this production, 'Ay, this is right, this is very right.' He enforced the same principles in '*The People's Barrier against Undue Influence and Corruption*,' published in the same year. In November of this year, 1780, he was married to Anne Katharine Dashwood, eldest daughter of Samuel Dashwood of Well Vale, Lincolnshire. Circumstances had deferred this union for nine years. Their constancy was rewarded by fortyfour years of connubial harmony, and he imputed to this worthy woman, not only the chief happiness of his life, but its prolongation beyond the ordinary term of man. He always addressed her in his letters, as his 'dearest and best friend.' In the following year were written his 'Letters on the Inequality of Representation, and the Inadequacy of Petitions to Parliament for mere Reform in Public Expenditures.' In consequence of the death of his father at this period, he was, for some time after, much engaged in the arrangement of family matters. On this occasion he gave an instance of his usual singular disinterestedness. He had, some time before, expressed an apprehension that his father's will might be too favorable to himself, to the injury of others, and it was probably owing to his representations that the old gentleman made a new one, constituting his eldest surviving son George, his executor and heir to his principal estate. George had been unfortunate in some speculations in Labrador, and his embarrassments made him desirous of disposing of the family estate of Marnham. John became its purchaser, and took up his residence on it, devoting himself at the same time so assiduously to settling the family affairs, that for a twelvemonth he seldom labored less than eleven hours a day. His care of his family was incessant; his grandfather used to say, 'He was born to be the father of it!' He found time, however, to submit to Lords Howe and Keppel a plan for raising the Royal George,

which, with the fate of many of his propositions, though allowed to be the best, was never put in execution.

Nor did he forget his favorite project of parliamentary reform, though it would not be very interesting to mention all the meetings for the promotion of it, in which he bore a part. At one which Fox called at Westminster, to apologise to his electors for his resignation, our politician remarked, that though he had heard much of the impracticableness and absurdity of equal representation, it seemed to him there was no greater hardship in giving every man a right to elect, than there was in his being taxed in the minutest article of food and raiment. Speaking of Fox a day or two previous, he said, 'I wish his constituents would give him three thousand pounds a year, and keep him out of office;' and of Lord Shelburne he held the same tone. 'The last time I saw him,' he writes, 'he said all I could possibly wish; he was not then a minister.' This ministerial malady seems also to have seized on Lord Rockingham, who, when the question of reform was brought forward by Mr Pitt, in 1782, had the misfortune to forget the day of the discussion! Indeed this staunch champion of liberty found, in the progress of his career, so many hollow or lukewarm patriots; so many 'very moderate Whigs,' as somebody once called Dr Robertson; that it was not without reason he said, 'Cæsar has friends, Pompey has friends, but none are friends to Rome.' On this same subject of reform he used to add, 'Why a cobbler in a cinque port shall have his franchise, and a manufacturer in Birmingham shall have none, would puzzle any casuist on earth, except those in our House of Commons.' He persevered however, in spite of defection and defeat, in his political plans and efforts, which, from this time till 1788, were as various and earnest as ever. He promoted the Society for Constitutional Information, and corresponded with the chief patriots of the day in Ireland; he procured petitions from the various unrepresented towns, in aid of Mr Pitt's plan of reform; and he wrote to that statesman his hope, that his specific scheme would completely reinstate the people in their rights. The cause of reform wore at this time a more promising aspect than at any other period of its history, being espoused not only by such as might be stigmatized as low bred and discontented meddlers, but by men of rank and consequence, and ostensibly by ministers themselves. He wrote, also, during this period, a reply to Soame Jenyns' *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*,

and cooperated zealously in the efforts of Clarkson and Sharp for the abolition of the slave trade.

The French Revolution, at this time in its infancy, and wearing the most auspicious aspect for the liberties of mankind, was welcomed, it may be supposed, with the liveliest pleasure by this earnest apostle of freedom. On the eighteenth of August, 1789, he addressed, in this spirit, a letter to the 'Committee of the Constitution of the States General.' Not only, however, was this fair prospect soon overclouded in France, but the excesses of the Revolution wrought very disastrously on the cause of reform in England. Not a few of its friends, who had been willing enough to restore the edifice of the Constitution to what they deemed its pristine beauty, were terrified by the storm, which seemed likely to tear it from its foundations, and thought it more prudent to remain in a leaky house, than to enter on repairs amidst this convulsion of the political atmosphere, much less to pull it down, and build it anew. Our reformer, however, was no whit less tenacious of his principles, because he saw them disfigured and abused; nor did he forgive those who, with less pertinacity, yielded them to the alleged expediency of the day. Of Mr Pitt's sincerity he began to entertain some doubts. His friend, Dr Jebb, had told him long before, that 'politically speaking, Pitt was the worst man living, and would go greater lengths to destroy liberty, than any minister ever did before him.' Cartwright, at this time, stopped far short of his friend, in his censure of that energetic minister. 'I confess,' he says, 'that though on parliamentary reform, and a few other points, he has not satisfied me, my objections go no farther than doubts, and these doubts are mixed with hopes of somewhat great and good in future.' Men may differ as to the policy of the two parties in this crisis; but the subsequent censure of Mr Pitt by the 'father of reform,' comes with the more weight from him, as he was far from sharing in the republican notions disseminated by Paine and others. On the contrary, he assiduously labored to counteract them in the popular societies of the day, not merely on Machiavel's principle, that it was wise to retain forms, but in the honest persuasion that the spirit of the English constitution was highly favorable to liberty.

The events of the year 1793, both foreign and domestic, probably gave his rising suspicions of Mr Pitt a more definite character. The alliance of the sovereigns against France, he

regarded in the light in which posterity will, on the whole, be likely to view it; as not more reconcileable with policy than national justice. 'It may be worth our while,' said he, 'to consider what company we are to keep in this affair.' Of these confederates to revenge the murder of a king, one had seized the throne of her husband by means of that very crime, and the others had gone shares with her in the plunder received by the glorious *settlement* of Poland in 1791! 'It is a bold mockery in ministers,' he added, 'to propose to a nation, lovers of justice and freedom, a part in such a confederacy.' At home, the prosecutions instituted by the government against the friends of reform, gave him more serious uneasiness, and, indeed, spread no small dismay among the people, who beheld them urged by the very minister, that, a few years before, had been seen solemnly to pledge himself in the same cause. Major Cartwright took a deep interest in the fate of Muir; his strong feeling breaks out in the letter, which he wrote in his behalf to the Duke of Richmond. 'It is long,' says he, 'since I had offered your Grace any of my thoughts; but a letter from on board the hulks, which I have just read, bears down all reluctance. Read that letter, my Lord, I beseech you; if the writer merit the treatment he has received, I also, and your Grace ought to be cast into dungeons among felons. But if he be the victim of that corrupt system, which your Grace and I have labored to reform, it is needless to say more.' But the trial of Holt, the printer of Newark, gave him still greater uneasiness. This young man was fined fifty pounds for each publication, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment, for publishing two addresses, one of which was originally drawn up by Cartwright himself, and received the sanction of a society composed of the most distinguished characters of the day. He attempted, but in vain, to take this unfortunate man from his fate, by coming forward to prove himself the author of the obnoxious paper. The sentence proved the ruin of Holt's affairs, and caused his premature death. Yet, on this occasion, Cartwright's stern sense of duty, brought him forward to exculpate the minister, of whom, as he says, experience had taught him to think so badly, from the charge of having himself, as a member of the Society for Constitutional Information, given countenance and circulation to the paper on which Holt's prosecution was founded. Mr Pitt, he tells the editor of the *Monthly Magazine*, was not a member of that society, nor of any other having similar objects.

The trials of Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall and others, followed shortly after, and such was the consternation they excited, that many of the most zealous members of the constitutional societies sought anxiously to withdraw their names from them, and to shrink if possible into obscurity. Though the conviction of Tooke and the others would have made the situation of Cartwright himself not a little critical, he appears to have felt no personal anxieties; and far from concealing his connexion with the prosecuted reformers, he addressed to the Duke of Portland, then secretary of state, his old friend, and former political associate, a request for permission to visit Tooke in prison. In the letter preferring this request, he not only avows his personal friendship for the prisoner, but alleges as an additional reason of his desire to see him, that he had himself for many years cooperated with him in the matter of parliamentary reform, and that it was indeed the great happiness of his life to have been active in the very cause, for which the accused was suffering. His grace replied, that Mr Cartwright could have only the same permission to visit Mr Tooke, which government allowed to other persons; a refusal we presume, in plain English, to admit him at all.

In the event of these trials Cartwright, as may be supposed, felt a profound interest. On that of Hardy, he says, 'Gibbs spoke like an angel,' and Erskine, who made a speech of six hours, (some length in *those* days), was at last so exhausted, that he could not be heard by the judges, and an intermediate person was obliged to repeat what he said. 'These trials,' he writes to a friend, 'will turn out as I expected, vindictive and iniquitous, and instead of suitable prosecutions for smaller offences in a very few wrong-headed men, we shall have a war against liberty and its virtuous defenders.' Hardy's acquittal gave him incredible satisfaction, and he communicated it to his family in the following letter; 'Hardy is acquitted. J. C.' When Tooke was pronounced 'not guilty,' the air, he says was rent with shouts of joy, and 'Felix trembled.' After they subsided, Tooke, who during the whole trial had conducted himself with wonderful firmness and readiness, 'addressed the court in a few words, and then said, "I hope, Mr Attorney General, that this verdict will be a warning to you not to attempt to shed men's blood, on lame suspicions and doubtful inferences." He then turned to the jury, and thanked them for his life. Every man of them shed tears. This brought tears to

the eyes of Tooke who, during a six days' battle, had stood as dauntless as a lion, giving a stroke to one and a gripe to another, as if he were at play. The jury were out but five minutes, a time barely sufficient to reach their room and return; yet on first forming it, the panel bore such evident marks of management and partiality, that Erskine said to Tooke, "They are murdering you." When it is added, that there were but four of the jury who thought at all favorably to Tooke, it may be imagined what they thought of the trial. 'Had these trials,' said Cartwright, 'ended otherwise than they have, the system of proscription and terror, which has for some time been growing in this country, would have been completed and written in innocent blood.' On Thelwall's trial, the Duke of Richmond, his old acquaintance and a brother reformer, made, to use his own words 'a sneaking figure;' and Sergeant Adair's opening speech of seven hours, nearly lulled him to sleep, as it actually did the Chief Justice. Notwithstanding his deep concern in these proceedings, our politician, during all the time they lasted, never failed to write home from London, where he was attending the trials, the most minute instructions respecting the management of his farm at Brothertoft; an evidence of a certain constancy of spirit, which distinguishes here and there a few.

Tooke, as we have mentioned, showed no want of a manly tone on his trial. When urged by Chief Justice Eyre not to acknowledge his handwriting too hastily, he broke forth with great spirit; 'I protest before God, that I have never done an action, never written a sentence in public or private, I have never entertained a thought on any political subject, which taken fairly, with all the circumstances of time, place, and occasion, I have the smallest hesitation to admit.' The evidence given on the trial, by his friend Cartwright, was of a piece with the confidence and honesty of this declaration. Though interrogated by the attorney general as to his own private opinions, and how, under their guidance, he would act in particular cases, he did not seek to shelter himself under the legal excuse, that they were irrelevant to the cause and ensnaring to the witness, but answered them with a fearlessness against which the judge thought fit to caution him. It seems evident from his testimony, that Tooke, no more than himself, ever aimed at subverting the constitution and monarchy. The Society for Constitutional Information, of which, together with many of the first minds in

the kingdom, they were members, was designed to promote the recovery for the people of what were deemed their lost rights, representation in parliament, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments. Its members were men, probably, whose views differed essentially, some of them not going all the length of these objects, while others may have gone beyond them. But in regard to Tooke, the testimony of Cartwright is direct, that he was so far from inimical or disrespectful to royalty, that he at all times held the aristocratical and regal branches of the government as excellent in themselves, and that, with reform in other particulars, they would compose a more perfect constitution than any on earth. As for himself, Cartwright being examined touching some expression said to have been made, about strangling the vipers aristocracy and monarchy, said he did not remember it, but if it had been used in speaking of governments where monarchy and aristocracy were enemies to freedom, he should have thought it extremely well applied. 'Had I thought,' said he, 'there were any conspirators in the society, I would have assisted in bringing them to justice.' He did not look on Mr Paine's writings, for instance, as any more a conspiracy to overturn the government, than any other discussions on government. Chief Justice Eyre observed to him, that, 'in connecting himself with bad men, he could not be sure that he would not be carried beyond his own purpose;' and that his declaration that he would sign a petition for reform with any man however bad, though it might be very sincere, was not very prudent. The popular story goes, that the patriot replied to this remark, that 'he came not there to state what was prudent, but what was true.' He made no reply, however, at the moment; but he used to say, that in the stage-coach of reform, he certainly no more regarded the company he kept, than when he served in the militia with what Arthur Young called the dregs of the people, or in the navy, with the refuse of the night-cellars of London, and felons from Newgate. Lord Wellington, I suppose, said he, concerned himself but little about the private character of the soldiers with whom he gained the battle of Waterloo. This mode of thinking, aside from its abstract justness, might be pardoned in one who constantly, at elections, saw in persons of the highest rank, and the greatest pride, condescensions to the lowest and basest of mankind, which he himself was never known to practise.

In the course of Tooke's trial, a letter from him to Lord Ashburton appeared in evidence, in which he thus states the difference of opinion between himself and his friend Cartwright, on the subject of representation; that his friend thought every man had an equal right to freedom, to representation as the security of that freedom, and to a vote as the means of being represented; and that his final conclusion was, that every man should have an equal share in the representation. 'Now, my lord, I conceive the error to lie chiefly in the conclusion; for there is a great difference between having an equal right to a share, and a right to an equal share.'

In 1795, he published his '*Commonwealth in Danger*,' in answer to Arthur Young's '*Example of France a Warning to Great Britain*.' Young had in his work treated our reformer with that small share of ceremony, used by political controvertists in all countries to their antagonists, be their private virtues what they may; and after bestowing liberally on him the epithets of Jacobin, cut-throat, thief, and reformer, (names of like contempt, probably, in his esteem) paid him the farther compliment of recommending his works to the notice of the attorney general. Cartwright indignantly repelled an assertion of Young's, that he was an indiscriminate admirer of all the acts of the French Revolution. But however he might lament its excesses, he honestly avowed that he had never seen the moment, when he wished to behold the ancient despotism again riveted on that people; and there are not a few who will think him in the right. Young probably repented this virulent abuse, as he introduced himself, a few years after, to the politician of Brothertoft farm, and a cordial intercourse ensued between them. During the year 1795, our reformer, though much indisposed in health, was employed in drawing up various petitions. Being unable from illness to attend a county meeting at Lincoln, he prepared and sent a petition; and on its being rejected there without a reading, determined to present it to the House of Commons in his individual name. In his letter to Fox, accompanying it, he says, 'As long as memory remains to me, I cannot forget the obligation of an Englishman to you, for the generous and indignant opposition you have given to the two execrable bills now pending.' These were probably Lord Grenville's bill 'for the safety of his majesty's person,' and Mr Pitt's 'for preventing seditious meetings,' which two bills very much changed and extended the law touching treason and

sedition. To this Fox replies, 'I need not apprize you that my sentiments with regard to universal suffrage are far different from yours; but this difference, on an important point, has never prevented me from doing justice to your character, and sincerely admiring that ardent zeal, which has constantly animated you for the liberty of mankind.' Upon presenting the petition, after remarking that he himself had never had the support of the gentleman from whom it came, who had, on the contrary, been the strenuous supporter of Mr Pitt, till that minister abandoned the principles which had raised him to popularity and power; Fox added that strong encomium, which appears as a motto to our reformer's Biography; 'He is one whose enlightened mind, and profound constitutional knowledge, place him in the highest rank of public characters; and whose purity of principle, and consistency of conduct through life, command the most respectful attention to his opinions.'

In the following year he wrote 'The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External,' a work recommending the general arming of the people, and was proposed as a candidate for Boston, with such success as might be anticipated for one, who declared he would not expend a farthing in consideration of being elected, nor ring a bell, nor even contribute to a ball. In the year 1797 occurred an alarming mutiny in the British navy, on which occasion Cartwright wrote to his friend Admiral Young, suggesting the employment of Lord Howe, called 'the father of the navy,' to bring back the disaffected to their duty. Lord Howe, it is known, was afterwards successfully used for this purpose. Our reformer, after many ineffectual efforts, succeeded also in assembling a respectable meeting at Boston, where he proposed and carried a petition *for reform*, afterwards presented in the House of Commons by Mr Tierney. This Boston meeting was not gotten up without much pains. Of the chief persons on the popular side, wearied, it would seem, by ill success, or alarmed by the times, some wished to see the example first set by places of greater importance, and a great many, though sensible of its propriety, doubted the expediency of at present acting up to their conviction. This mode of reasoning was no novelty to our reformer; but was very unacceptable to one, whose views no complexion of times affected. 'It is not uncommon,' was his frequent remark, 'to hear persons say in seasons of emergency, they have nothing to do with politics; it would be as laudable to declare, they had nothing to do with

morality.' He produced this same year, his 'Appeal on the English Constitution,' of which this indefatigable man published another edition in 1798. In the temper of the day, these publications were made not wholly without danger. 'I think it evident,' Fox tells him in a letter, 'that nothing can now be published in favor of liberty without considerable risk. The decision against Wakefield's publisher appears to me decisive against the liberty of the press, and indeed after it one can hardly conceive how any prudent tradesman can venture to publish anything, that can, in any way, be disagreeable to ministers.' In fact, the difficulty Cartwright had in finding a publisher for his second edition, obliged him to become his own bookseller.

For several succeeding years till 1802, he was much occupied with the affairs of his brother, Dr Cartwright, whose various inventions were as unprofitable to himself, as they were conducive to the prosperity of the country. Many piracies had been made of his patents, in detecting which the Major displayed his customary indefatigableness. His friend, Lord Stanhope, proved a very useful witness on the trials, from his profound knowledge of the principles and practical application of mechanics.

The subject of a temple of naval celebration, as it was called, being much talked of about this time, he brought forward a design, among others, which was pronounced by persons of the best taste, to be by much the noblest, and which the venerable West declared ought to immortalize its author. Among the designs he offered, were five nautic orders of architecture; and of the decorations some have been since adopted in the monument of one of the naval heroes of Great Britain. His work called 'The Trident,' contains the particulars of this scheme, in which he labored with his usual energy and his usual success; for after several years of toil, and an expense of five hundred pounds to himself, it was finally rejected. He could scarcely be brought to believe, that the prejudices existing against him had any share in preventing its adoption.

Such was the ill favor in which our politician was held by the government, or at least by its partisans and emissaries, that it led, ridiculously enough, to the apprehension of an agent of his, sent into Yorkshire to collect evidence of the piracies of his brother's machinery. In his possession was found a letter of instructions from Cartwright, which met the same fate as

Roderick Random's Greek diary, and seems to have puzzled the Bow street officer, as much as Roderick's production did Captain Oakum and his sapient council. Under the mask of *drawing-off rollers* and *crank lashers*, the decypherer thought he had found something extremely dangerous to the state. On learning the fate of his unlucky emissary, the Major hastened to leave a note with the attorney general, saying, that as his agent was suspected of having been sent on an improper errand, he was ready to explain the business. His majesty's officer, however, whose head ran on nothing less than treason or sedition, sent to say that no information from the Major could be of any use. When the truth came out, he was happy to excuse himself by a polite note to our patriot.

In the following year, 1803, was published his 'Letter to the Electors of Nottingham,' which, in the true spirit of party, the Anti-Jacobin Review, on the one side, called a senseless jargon, and the Monthly, on the other, complimented for its nervous and animated 'eloquence. He finds much fault in this publication with Mr Reeves, for calling the English constitution a monarchy, and with Arthur Young, who had asserted that the Commons House of Parliament was not intended to represent the Commons of England. The threatened invasion of Napoleon spread, at this time, dismay throughout the country, and turned the Major's attention to other matters. He was anxiously employed in devising a mode of defence; and particularly in promoting meetings in Lincolnshire, to represent the unprepared situation of that coast. He made a plan, also, of a flying drawbridge, which met the approbation of the late Sir John Moore; and a pike of his invention, though not adopted by government, was much praised by military men of different nations. A model of it has since been sent to Greece. The riots at Nottingham in this year, made him remark, that when the adherents of government were concerned in such things, there was no cry through the kingdom, no inquiry after the perpetrators. But now, when the popular voice was on the side of freedom, and there was some tearing of coats, the nobility and gentry were liberal of their subscriptions to suppress both.

It may be mentioned among the evidences of the alarm that prevailed in England of an invasion, that the Morning Chronicle thought it necessary to state, that Mr. Secretary Yorke had written to the Lord Lieutenants 'not to *drive* the country on the approach of the enemy, but only to remove horses and oxen.'

The country seems to have been in no state of preparation; and, indeed, in the temper of the times, it was not easy to select a mode satisfactory to all parties, when the friends of the people beheld in a standing army, the bulwark of the augmenting power and arbitrary measures of the government, and the ministry were too jealous of the revolutionary spirit of the day, to put arms into the hands of the people. It was the desire of the popular party, and was strenuously urged by the subject of this memoir, to enrol and arm the population. Of this plan Fox writes to Cartwright, that its practicableness was doubtful, even if men could get the better of their alarms at democracy; but that these alarms made it now impossible. 'It is vain,' says he, 'to hope that you, who mean freedom, can ever get your systems patronized by those, whose wish it is to enslave the country more and more.' Cartwright was not only extremely apprehensive of an invasion, but believed that England rather than Ireland would be the scene of it; an opinion which is justified by the declarations of Napoleon, as given in a well known work. His publication on this subject, called 'England's Ægis,' appeared, for the first time, in 1804.

In the year following, our politician, whose increasing interest in public affairs rendered his agricultural pursuits irksome to him, let his estate in Lincolnshire, and removed to Chase Green, Enfield. He now published the 'State of the Nation,' in a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford, urging the necessity of popular interference by public meetings, for obtaining a reform of representation, and a removal of ministers. He writes on this subject to his friend Wyvill, 'Although the spell of Mr Pitt's direful power is broken, it might be as well to let the public see that meetings may once more be held, without being dispersed by servile magistrates.' The language of the opposition, in regard to the ministry, was, at this period, not a little bitter. Its 'unexampled profligacy, the abominable corruption of the government,' the 'fallen character of the minister,' 'freedom betrayed,' and the 'wicked audacity of unbridled power,' are the expressions of Cartwright, reechoed or justified by his political correspondents. Yet these were by no means always willing to second his movements against this state of things; and on the occasion of his urging a meeting in Middlesex, he received from many distinguished persons, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Dundas, Earls St Vincent and Stanhope, and Grey and Fox, very flattering replies indeed, but all concurring

in the opinion expressed by the last, that it was no time to agitate the question. 'Indeed,' says his biographer, 'this time, in the opinion of many persons, never came at all,' or, at least, the Major never had the happiness to hit on it. His friend Stanhope seems to have discovered the secret, and fairly confesses himself weary of the dull old road of meetings of the freeholders convened by the aristocracy. We find the unwearied Major busy, nevertheless, at this time, in promoting a meeting in Middlesex, and several other meetings. In November, 1806, he was invited to stand for Boston, where, as usual, he was unsuccessful in the canvass; and, in 1807, he put forth several publications on his favorite political topics.

In this year the whigs gave way, in the administration, to a more powerful party, to whom Cartwright was as earnest as to the others, in recommending his systems of defence. Having drawn up the schedules of two bills, one for arming the people, the other for their more complete representation, he was very anxious that his friend, Sir Francis Burdett, should bring them forward during the session of 1808. Burdett, through indisposition, and from a pretty sober conviction, besides, that he should meet no support, suffered the session to pass without presenting them, to the no small dissatisfaction of the zealous Major, who had spent six months in their preparation. He writes to Lord Stanhope on this subject, 'The time is flying; the session draws near its close; before another, the king of Sweden may cease to reign, Spain may be completely French, Turkey partitioned, and Napoleon in readiness to direct to the destruction of this country, all his immensity of means.' Such were the terrors of the name, which has passed on 'the tide of times' into history. In the affairs of Spain, where the war of the constitution had just broken out, he felt the same kind of interest as in the advancement of constitutional freedom in his own country. He addressed to the Viscount Materosa, one of the Spanish deputies then in England, several letters on the form of the constitutional government, recommending the same plan of defence that he had proposed for England. He sent him also his newly invented spear. At a meeting held in Middlesex, he moved a resolution approving the reestablishment in Spain, of the ancient government of a king and an independent Cortes, so balanced as to secure liberty. It was this form of polity, formerly common to all the feudal nations, that he wished to see restored, in what he considered its purity, to his own

country. He moved another resolution expressive of a hope, which time has sadly disappointed, that what had been lost to liberty, by the levity and excesses of France, might be regained by the gravity and virtue of Spain. The progress of reform is not slower, than political predictions are uncertain. At this moment, France, of all the continental nations, is perhaps the nearest to freedom, and Spain the farthest from it.

In 1809, he answered a publication of Lord Selkirk's, who had argued against the general principles of his constitutional system, chiefly from what he had witnessed of the effects of extensive representation in America. In the August of this year, he exerted himself with some success at a meeting at Hackney, where thanks were voted him for the ability and perseverance he had shown in the cause of parliamentary reform. In August, 1810, he sold his house at Enfield, and removed to James street, Buckingham Gate, with the same view which had caused his previous removal, that he might, as he said, 'be nearer his work.' In the following year, he bestirred himself in getting up a dinner-meeting of the friends of reform, at the Crown and Anchor, which took place on the tenth of June, and, in the same month, it was resolved by a committee of it, to form a society for that purpose. A letter from Sir Philip Francis, on the subject of this meeting, is worth inserting as entirely characteristic. He says, 'My resolution on the subject of your kind letter, was founded on experience, and taken with deliberation. I cannot alter it. You are the only person to whom it would be unbecoming in me to say, that I am not young enough to embark again in what I believe to be a hopeless enterprise. I doubt the actual existence of an English public, for any great national purpose; and, if it exists, I am not its debtor. As far as I can judge, the mass of the English population is inert. The country has lost its passions, and is not fit for action. This general opinion is open to exceptions, and you are one of them.'

The distress which prevailed this year, in Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, deeply wounded the mind of Major Cartwright; and in the hope of bringing back the unhappy rioters in these places to their duty, he addressed a letter to a respectable frame-work knitter, on their folly and impolicy in destroying property. This letter was circulated gratis in the disturbed districts, and had a salutary effect. In the succeeding year, learning that thirtyeight persons, who had assembled in Man-

chester to consider a petition for parliamentary reform, had been apprehended, and sent to gaol fifty miles from their homes, on the charge of having administered an unlawful oath, he determined to go himself to the spot, in order to give them the advantage of a defence. He had the pleasure to find his exertions rewarded by their acquittal, and he proceeded thence on a kind of political tour, which gave great scandal to the friends of government. It was interrupted, however, by only one unpleasant circumstance. A small number of working mechanics having assembled at Huddersfield, to pay their respects to the 'father of reform,' were disturbed by the appearance of a militia officer, with several constables, who came to execute a warrant against our Major, and to examine his papers. 'The business not being conducted in the most polite manner, the spirit of the old reformer was roused, and he sturdily refused to permit his papers to be searched.' After a long altercation, one of the party, more courteous than the rest, begged as a favor to himself, that the Major would acquiesce in the examination, which ended, and a constable left in attendance, he was allowed to retire to sleep about half past three in the morning, a most unseasonable hour to this veteran of seventythree, who seldom transgressed ten o'clock. Next morning, accompanied by constables, with the additional escort of a crowd of curious spectators, he went in his carriage to the magistrate, who finding nothing more treasonable among his papers than some drafts of petitions, allowed him to pursue his journey.

The result of this political tour, was a vast number of petitions got up in various places, of which four hundred and thirty were consigned to the care of our tourist. On his return to town, he endeavored in vain to procure, from the office of the under secretary of state, a copy of the warrant served on him at Huddersfield. This circumstance with others was stated in a petition, presented in the House of Lords, the first of June, 1813, by the late Lord Byron, who said of the petitioner; 'He is a man, my lords, whose long life has been spent in one unceasing struggle for the liberty of the subject, against that undue influence which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and whatever difference of opinion may exist as to his political tenets, few will be found to question the integrity of his intentions. Even now, oppressed with years, and not exempt from the infirmities attendant on his age, but

unimpaired in talent, and unshaken in spirit, *frangas, non flectes*, he has received many a wound in the combat against corruption; and the new grievance, the fresh insult, of which he complains, may inflict another scar, but no dishonor.' The insult to himself occupied however, a small part of his petition, which consisted chiefly of examples of various obstructions to the right of petitioning, and persecutions of those attempting it. This right, it states, inestimable in particular for giving peaceful vent to discontents, is treated as a sort of treason; while those who exercise it, are stigmatized as criminals, and pursued by violent strainings of the law, and even by courses wholly illegal. The petition was rejected in both the Lords and Commons, on grounds foreign to its merits; the objection in the latter being the usage of the House, to receive no bill that was printed. In the August of the next year, 1814, our veteran suffered a severe indisposition, and was, in his own words, 'so near a certain bourne, that, had not Dr Maton turned me short round, I should probably have slipped in.' His chief anxiety, however, during this indisposition, was that he might live to finish his letters to Clarkson on the slave trade, and bribery at elections, two species of traffic which he classed together in enormity. The plan of making the slave trade piracy, since adopted by his own country, and by others, was developed first in these letters. Nine months before the death of the reformer, he had the great satisfaction to find his views adopted in the Message of the President of the United States, and to learn, a few months later, the conclusion of a treaty between this country and Great Britain to the same effect.

In 1815, he made, in Scotland, a second political tour, during which he delivered some lectures. Having written various letters to the person, who was to continue these after his departure, his widow, two years afterwards, wrote to inform Cartwright, that she had been offered a large sum to give them up to government, and that, *in justice to her family*, she must close with the proposal. Cartwright answered laconically, 'that it gave him infinite satisfaction to find that any of his letters were considered so valuable, and begged her to make the best bargain she could of their contents.'

It were tedious to mention all the meetings on the subject of reform, of taxes, and of standing armies, attended or promoted by this unwearied champion of the people. His efforts seemed, towards the close of 1816, to be in a fair way of bearing fruit.

Flattering testimonies of respect were paid him from the many meetings held throughout England, and petitions thronged in from all sides. He surveyed with prodigious satisfaction the coaches employed to transport these huge rolls of parchment from his house to St Stephen's Chapel. One of these from Manchester, signed by nearly forty thousand persons, was designedly permitted by Lord Cochrane to unroll as he presented it, and drag its tedious length on the floor. But this prospect was soon clouded by the panic produced by the Report of the Secret Committee, and Lord Sidmouth's Circular to the Lord Lieutenants of the disturbed counties. Loyal addresses were got up, the habeas corpus act was suspended, and every restriction was placed on public meetings. Major Cartwright and his coadjutors ran such risk of being placed in the same conspicuous situation, as Horne Tooke and others a few years before, that even his friends began to cast on him the same censures from fright, as his enemies from anger. Our patriot remained wonderfully unmoved, amidst all this abuse and ridicule, which sometimes reached him from conspicuous quarters. Mr Canning, in his place in the House, called him 'the old heart in London, from which the veins of sedition in the country were supplied.' The 'Times' said, the reformers had brought back the day of the Crusaders, when, as the story goes, an army marched to the holy city with a goose at its head. The Major set himself to work, nevertheless, to evade the new acts of parliament restricting public assemblies, by setting on foot *petitions by twentys*. At a meeting in Palace Yard, in the following year, a resolution was adopted for 'presenting to Major Cartwright, the patriarch of parliamentary reform, the thanks of the meeting for the exertions of half a century; while the spotless purity of his own life would have done honor to the noblest cause.' A very different notoriety awaited him in Devonshire, whither he went, not long after, on a visit to Northmore, the poet. A provincial ministerial print prefixed to the alarming intelligence, in capital letters, the word 'BEWARE.' He published in this year, two political tracts; in one of them is engraved a model of a polling table, for the purposes of the ballot, a mode of voting advocated by Cartwright from the earliest period of his political researches, though incorrectly spoken of in the *Edinburgh Review*, as a suggestion of Bentham's. We find him sending also to Mr Adams, now President of the United States, the second part of his 'England's Ægis,' with

his 'Appeal to the Nation.' There is inserted in the biography an answer from Mr Adams to the letter accompanying these, in which he says, 'You exhibit in the paper written in 1776, the rare, I had almost said, the only example of an Englishman who understood, and openly stated, the real merits of that great question, on which the continued union or severance of Great Britain and her colonies depended, but from which all, or the greater part of the nation, shrank or averted their eyes.'

In the year 1819, our reformer was engaged in an enterprise well fitted to bring down on him the arm of authority, and certainly very novel, as originally projected, to parliamentary and constitutional practice. Learning that some persons at Birmingham intended, in the words of his biographer, 'to urge in a manner never before attempted,' the claim of that town to be represented, he determined to visit Birmingham, and 'prevail on them to change, in some degree, their object, and mode of proceeding.' It had been their intention to elect four members, and *claim for them a seat in the House*; the Major wished them to elect but one, who should be styled, not their member, but their 'legislatorial attorney,' and who should be empowered to present a letter to the Speaker; thus, as he said, attempting a new mode of application, by sending a petition in form of a living man, instead of one on parchment.' The pretty natural consequence of his taking part in these proceedings, was a bill of indictment against him for conspiracy and sedition; on learning which he left the metropolis, whither he had returned, and rode ninety miles to Leamington, in a single day (though then in his eightieth year), in order to meet the charge, and prevent the warrant's being served on him in London.

Having entered his bail, and returned home, he forthwith applied himself to his favourite objects, as if no prosecution had been hanging over him; interesting himself in behalf of the sufferers at Manchester, and especially in the proceedings at St Petersfield in this year. He could hardly be persuaded, that the prosecution against himself would be persisted in; and when he found it necessary to send out *subpœnas*, he wrote to the Duke of Roxburgh, whom he had summoned with much *sang froid*, 'My dear lord Duke, you have probably heard of my having been indicted for conspiring against the Constitution.' To Northmore he says, with more vivacity, 'The work of hell is already begun, in a gross and flagrant packing of the jury.'

I am in great hopes this trial may serve the cause of reform.' When the jury was struck off, he strongly remonstrated against the injustice of limiting the panel to esquires, and argued with such spirit and ability, as to draw an expression of admiration from the master of the Crown Office. As he found his arguments of little avail, he declared he 'could only consider the manner in which the jury was composed, as a legal assassination of the defendants.' Had he lived to see the amended jury bill, it would have repaid him amply for this prosecution. On the same day of the month, five years after, Mr Peel proposed to extend the number of persons qualified to serve on juries, and gave the case of Major Cartwright as an instance of the extreme inconvenience of the contrary plan. The interval between the notice of trial and the assizes, naturally one of some anxiety to his family, he passed with his usual equanimity. The trial was originally to have come on in March, 1820, but from the indisposition of Mr Justice Best, it was postponed, to his great mortification, till August, his friends still flattering themselves that the prosecution would be allowed to die away. Meanwhile, he took the chair at a meeting held to celebrate the birth day of the queen, and petitioned the Commons for reform in parliament, in his own name, and in very uncompromising language. At length, on the fourteenth of August, the trial came on, and after a defence adapted rather to recommend his political opinions, than ensure his acquittal, for which purpose he did not even produce a witness, he and the other defendants were found guilty. It was not till the 29th of May, 1821, that he was called up for judgment, in the Court of King's Bench, when he was sentenced to pay a hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned till it was paid. The judge, while pronouncing sentence, spoke with so much respect of the character of the patriot, that our Major declared that he surely thought he was going to offer him a reward, instead of inflicting a fine. Before he left the Court, he produced from one of his waistcoat pockets, which he always wore of unusual size, a large canvas bag, out of which he deliberately counted a hundred pounds in gold, dryly observing (though we know not whether he meant to pun), that they were all *good sovereigns*. Very cordial greetings awaited him as he left the court, from his friends, who thought him happy to have escaped a long imprisonment at his age; a sentiment he could by no means coincide in, as he thought it hard to pay a

hundred pounds for a 'delusion,' that being the only crime the judge imputed to him.

He had meanwhile continued his political efforts of all sorts, and from this time till his death, he was equally busy in them. He published, among other things, in 1821, 'Hints to the Greeks,' which seemed, as a general officer remarked, the results of long experience in the art of war; and wrote, also, some resolutions for a meeting at Hackney, a Letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers, and his Letters to Lord John Russell. In February, 1823, was held the last Middlesex meeting he ever attended, where, with his usual intractableness, he refused to give up his resolutions for some others proposed, and finally carried them almost unanimously, after having spoken in their favor with great energy. He was at a meeting at Lincoln, on the twentysixth of March, and in May, he published 'The Constitution Produced and Illustrated,' his 'last best work,' as Northmore denominated it, and of which Dr Parr remarked, 'that the author wrote with more energy the older he grew, and that he did not believe there was any man of his age, capable of producing such a work, adding, in a laughing tone, "except myself."' Cartwright was then in his eightyfourth year. On this, as on a former occasion, he was obliged to become his own publisher. He wrote, likewise, a letter to the President of the Greek Congress, and to one of the Greek deputies.

It was in the September of this year, that he had the gratification of extending his hospitality to the wives of the two principal leaders in the Spanish Revolution, Quiroga and Riego, who, while their husbands were yet buffeting its storms, had taken refuge in England. They were received under the roof of the aged patriot, with the usual kindness and courtesy of his private demeanor, increased by his interest for the cause in which they were sufferers. In the agonies endured by the family of Riego, while the fate of that unfortunate chief was in suspense, he sympathized so acutely, that, for once, his habitual fortitude forsook him. When that fate was sealed, he circulated in all parts of London, a handbill recommending to the friends of liberty to wear mourning, and promoted a subscription for a monument, of which he himself drew the design. On the 9th of February, 1824, was written the last of his compositions that appeared in print, entitled 'A Problem.'

His long and active life was, however, drawing to a close, and he began to be sensible of it. In a visit to Admiral Freeman, his old messmate, and a brother midshipman at the sea-fight between Hawke and Conflans, he confessed the feebleness which he carefully hid from his family; and he told another friend 'I have strong indications that the old machine is nearly worn out.' On the 13th of July, 1824, he had the gratification of receiving from the venerable Jefferson, a long letter on various interesting political topics, the signature of which, he observed with pleasure, was as firm as that of the Declaration of Independence. 'Your age of eightyfour,' says the sage of Monticello, 'and mine of eightyone years, ensure us a speedy meeting; we may then commune at leisure on the good and evil which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed.' This letter he answered on the twentyeighth of July.

His last effort was to dictate a letter to the Mexican envoy. He was now evidently sinking very fast. Alone with his friend, Holt White, he said to him, 'White, they would not insure my life at Lloyd's for a fortnight.' Amidst his last sufferings, he expressed his surprise that, with a frame so exhausted, he should find it so hard to die, but exclaimed emphatically, 'God's will be done!' Two days before his death, General Michelena, the envoy spoken of above, sent 'to inform him that the scheme of Iturbide had failed, and that the liberty of Mexico might be considered as established.' On hearing it, he exclaimed with fervor, 'I am glad of it, I am very glad.' These were almost his last words. He expired on the 23d of September, 1824, being within a few days of the close of his eightyfourth year. He was buried at Finchley, on the thirtieth, followed, according to his desire, by only a single mourning coach; but numbers of the poor crowded to witness his interment. A subscription for a monument was set on foot a few days after, at the meeting for which his friends and political admirers expressed their sentiments of his public and private worth, in terms which may be best described by a version of the passage from Tacitus, prefixed to his biography. 'There was nothing he so thirsted for as Liberty. Alike just in all the relations of life, as a citizen, a politician, a husband, and a friend, insensible to interest, pertinacious of right, unassailable by fear.'

The reader can hardly look back without respect, on this history of a life devoted with energy, and without remission,

to the advancement of public good. These efforts were aimed at objects abstractedly so just, and apparently so conformable to the spirit of the English constitution, that to us in this country, to whom the principles of popular liberty are familiar, the odium into which they brought our reformer, with a large and most respectable portion of the British public, seems somewhat extraordinary, especially as he had for coadjutors, at different times and in his various plans, so many persons of the highest talents and virtue. This may, perhaps, as well as the lukewarmness in his allies, of which he complains so much, be more intelligible from recollecting the general state of parties in England, the particular complexion of the times, and probably some peculiarities of character in our reformist himself.

When he first came before the public in that shape, the only political distinction existing in England, was that between Whigs and Tories, of whom it has been said, that the latter believed in the divine right of kings, and the former in the divine right of noblemen and gentlemen. His first association was naturally with the Whigs; but besides, that he found among them a very large portion, whose whole political zeal was a struggle for place, it is pretty evident from his work on American Independence, that his ideas respecting the theory of government, and the rights of the people, far outran the doctrines of most of that party. A politician, who had the boldness to argue the question of the colonies, on the broad ground of natural and inherent rights, was not likely to carry along with him, especially with the doctrine of universal suffrage in his train, any large portion of the aristocratical monarchists of England, whose largest notions of liberty hardly transcended the glorious revolution and settlement of 1688. They did not disdain, indeed, to employ the 'ancient rights of the people of England,' as a watchword in their attacks on the power of the crown; nor were they indifferent to possessing in the House of Commons, a body of independent gentlemen, as a balance to that increasing influence. Some of them, in furtherance of this security against the crown, might extend their views to the obtainment of annual parliaments; but it is doubtful, whether, among all our reformist's coadjutors in that body of men, there was one who would have been willing, in the event, to confide to the people such a share in the government as he sought for them, and as his plans, in their accomplishment, would have brought about.

Had Cartwright lived in a republic, we cannot help thinking he would have made a much better and stancher republican, than he did monarchist. Yet he always professed an attachment to the government of his own country, which we have no reason to doubt. But though he declared it to be of all systems the most admirably adapted, in its purity, to secure happiness and liberty, it is somewhat questionable, whether the reform in representation, by which he would have restored that purity, would be, at this day, and in the altered nature and circumstances of the commons of England, very consistent with either the shape or the spirit of the English Constitution, with its large tincture of monarchy and aristocracy. The most popular branch of the British parliament is anything but a representative body, in the proper sense of the term, and is composed, for the greater part, of persons placed there by those, who have a deep interest in supporting the power of the crown, and the influence of the aristocracy. That the House of Commons is a great bulwark of the people and liberty; that it embraces no contemptible amount of intellect and knowledge; and that, with the aid of that public opinion which, in some way, makes itself heard in all countries, it is a most efficacious check of the monarchical and aristocratical branches of the government, is all evident enough. But Arthur Young spoke very truly, when he denied it to be, even in theory, a representation of the commons of England; nor is it quite apparent how it can ever become so, with permanent safety to the government in its existing shape. Our reformer's aim was to make it so in fact, and so effectual to that end was the plan he projected, that it could not fail to prove a stone of stumbling to nobility and gentry, who were not quite prepared to see the influence of the other estates transferred so largely, and in the end, perhaps, entirely to the commons. Charles Fox and Horne Tooke demurred at his universal suffrage, and one of his Whig friends tells him plainly, that however they might use the people for their own purposes, they could never think of giving power to any but those in whom they could confide. Mr Fox's sincerity in the cause of reform is very suspicious. It is told of him, that he declared it to be a fine thing for argument in the House, but not fit to be carried into execution, and that he used to say, 'Whenever any one pushes a plan of reform, say you are for nothing short of

annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and then you are safe.'

The writers on the history and political constitution of England, have long been divided into two parties, the first of them contending that the liberties of the commons, especially their right of representation in parliament, are coeval with the Saxon laws, but that they suffered gradual encroachments on the part of the crown; that they were not originated, but only reasserted, under Charles the First, and subsequently confirmed by the Revolution. The other party, with Mr Hume in the van, have always treated these ancient rights in the commons as imaginary. They consider the early attacks mentioned in their annals, on the power of the crown, to have been only the resistance of a turbulent aristocracy, by whom the liberties of the commons were as little thought of, as they were themselves impatient of kingly encroachment. These liberties, they assert, are wholly of modern growth, and for this plain reason, that the commons of England were in former days so poor and dejected, that neither had they any property or privileges of value to protect, nor did they really form a body for any rights to inhere in. Cartwright was of the former school; and in claiming the right of the people to general representation, and the restoration of annual parliaments, he deemed himself to be vindicating nothing more than the ancient privileges of the English commons.

But it was not on this ground merely, that he made his stand for these rights of representation and annual election, declaring them to be as unalienable as that liberty whose chief security they were, and which he asserted to depend neither on charters, laws, nor usage. With all respect for the *politicians*, who busied themselves with this controversy, it seems to us that however interesting as a portion of history, it went but a little way towards settling the real point of dispute between them, which was, after all, only a question of more or less popular influence in parliament. To political reasoners on this side of the water, who take the safety of the people for the supreme law, and the people themselves as the fountain of all constitutions, a question about forms so obsolete as those debated in this controversy, appears of little moment; and the importance attached to it by both sides, only serves to show how apt men are, in the language of lawyers, *stare decisis*, and to shrink from the admission of principles, which may involve they know

not what deviation from the existing order of things. The adherents of the established system could scarcely have insisted, however, that it was unchangeable according to the circumstances of society and property, else they might have been at some loss to defend the happy revolution of 1688, or excuse the coming in of king William of glorious memory, any more than the invasion of William the Conqueror. The advocates of reform hardly required the authority of ancient usage, for changes which they justified on a much broader ground. Neither party, in truth, cared to express openly, the one its aristocratical, and the other its popular inclinations. As it must have been pretty obvious to both sides, that to model the representation on the plan proposed, would have been to produce a body unlike any practically known to the constitution, since the day of the Roman Conquest at least, it can excite no wonder, that the question should be regarded by the adherents of government, as a conflict between monarchy and democracy. However correctly our reformer may have construed the ancient English constitution, and however auspicious his aims to the general cause of liberty, their results to the existing institutions of his country were somewhat more questionable.

There were not a few, however, who, either from party zeal or conviction, cooperated with him in the propagation of his views, and declared, as Lord Shelburne expressed himself, 'that the House of Commons ought to be free in every circumstance of its constitution, and that the rights of the people consisted in annual elections, and a total change of the representation.' But it would appear, that a great many of these found a sudden 'change come over the spirit of their dream,' on the breaking out, or during the progress at least, of the French Revolution. The storm seemed so portentous, and threatened such trouble in the whole social and moral atmosphere, that many good patriots were alarmed at the very name of reform, and clung steadfastly to church and state, as to a plank in shipwreck. Public opinion in England suffered a sudden revulsion, in which the minister would seem to have had his full share; for the arbitrary measures, by which he enforced the public quiet, caused no small astonishment to the friends of reform, and leave his respect for liberty somewhat of a problem at this day. Our reformer, on the contrary, separating the principles from the practice of his French

neighbors, with none of the sensibilities of the aristocracy, moreover, on the score of their influence, or of the clergy, it may be presumed, for the safety of the church, could be brought to see no reason against the correction of abuses at home, in the excesses which had attended it abroad ; but rather an argument for it, on the ground that the rendering of justice to the people was the best security against their violence. He had besides, all his life, had very little respect for the 'expediency,' which both foes and friends had so often thrown in the path of his efforts ; and he avowed, that the only sort he could conceive of was the restoring of affairs to their just basis, the ancient, free, English Constitution. Even had the justness of his construction of it been more apparent, the wisdom of this pertinacity, at such a crisis, may create another doubt. It is a bootless task to struggle against popular alarms, in seasons of peculiar excitement ; but, on the other hand, it is scarcely a more favorable period for reform, when the current of public affairs runs smooth, and the rocks, which threaten the bark of state, are overlooked in the tide of prosperity.

The various publications of Major Cartwright, of which we have mentioned many, and of which a copious list is subjoined to his biography, were chiefly occupied in the illustration and enforcement of his political opinions. His 'English Constitution Produced and Illustrated' contains the substance of these, which, indeed, might be included in two ; the necessity of an actual representation of the people, to express their will ; and of arming them, in order to enforce it. In all his writings there is manifest a fervent love of liberty ; a reference of it to immutable principles of our nature ; and a strong bias in favor of popular rights and power.

With opinions and sentiments of this complexion, and with his inflexibleness in asserting them, he would naturally draw on himself detraction and ridicule from a very large party of the British public. They, who thought he aimed at nothing less than to pull down the state, were easily led to think that his private manners answered to these mischievous political designs. From the distinguished names, which he numbered among his correspondents and allies, it may be supposed, however, that this blind prejudice was confined chiefly to the vulgar, who are found in all parties and all classes of life. Many eminent persons, who differed from him on fundamental points of politics, have rendered justice to the integrity of his motives. We

have seen what eulogium was passed on him by Mr Fox in parliament, and the very judge, who sentenced him on his conviction for the transactions at Birmingham, bore testimony to his public as well as private honesty. From personal ambition he seems to have been entirely free; 'I would always,' he says, 'rather support than move;' and provided things were well done, he was quite careless of appearing in them. His darling objects advanced so slowly to accomplishment, that it was happy for him he possessed a most abounding patience, 'being content,' he was used to say, 'to deposit the acorn in the ground, provided posterity might live under the branches of the oak.' A person once exclaimed, on hearing some instance of this noble indifference to private gain, 'They will never persuade me that this man wants a revolution, that he may share in the plunder of the rich.' Of his habitual reverence of principle, he gave an example in the case of his brother, Dr Cartwright. When this gentleman received ten thousand pounds from parliament, to indemnify him for losses on inventions, which have so materially benefited England, the Major, though he had unrepiningly sacrificed for him a large part of his own fortune, would make no interest on the occasion, with the members, 'because he was of opinion that government was not bound to indemnify individuals for losses in private speculations.' In his domestic manners he was the very reverse of the uncompromising champion, that he appeared in the arena of public concerns. He was very accessible to such as wished to consult him, especially if they required his assistance. As these could approach him without introduction, he sometimes suffered from his unguarded charity, which embraced equally all parties and sects. Like all good-hearted people, he was extremely fond of children, in whose sports he would join with great glee, saying, like the Vicar of Wakefield, 'that the greatest treat he could enjoy, was the sight of happy human faces.'

Notwithstanding his incessant occupation with politics, he introduced them rarely into conversation, and discussed them with temper. He had some facility of adapting his conversation to his company, and added to this feature of a polite man, a fund of information and agreeable anecdote, gathered from his various conversation with men. By the poor, whose friend he was, as well in private life as in politics, he was highly beloved. He was a model of punctuality in business, especially in answering letters, of which Cobbett says (if he be authority

for anything), that he 'wrote a hundred in a week, by way of episode to his other labors,' which were not small, as he left behind not less than eighty works on various subjects.

This studious labor was the counterpart of his industry in pursuing his public aims. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of his character, was, as we have said, his dauntless perseverance. Neither age, sickness, nor infirmity; neither considerations of inconvenience and difficulty; nor the certainty of obloquy and ridicule, ever turned him from his purpose. His own insensibility to these, led him to exact the same diligence from others, with too little allowance for circumstances, and perhaps some slight degree of intolerance. He was heartily tired of the delays of his political friends, and the nearer they approached what he deemed the indispensable point, the higher his anxiety rose that they should leave nothing undone. But this pertinacity may be fairly set down to his solicitude for the public weal, rather than any conceit in his own judgment, as he was willing enough to follow, if others would only go on. He was very anxious to inspire his own firmness into all his political coadjutors. When Hobhouse was committed to Newgate, the old Major, hearing that his friends advised some kind of recantation, in order to shorten his imprisonment, hurried off to exhort him against it; 'but,' said he, 'I found my errand unnecessary; the young man was firm.' He used to relate with great glee, that when the meeting and dinuer took place at the Crown and Anchor in 1809, for the promotion of parliamentary reform, at which more than twelve hundred persons attended, there was one man present, who was after his own heart. This man, having had his shoulder dislocated, in getting into the room, went to a surgeon to have it set, and then returned to the dinner. He acted pretty steadfastly on his favorite maxim, that a great deal might be done, not only by striking while the iron was hot, but by striking it till it was hot. His feeling on the subject of public concerns coincided with that of Lord Charlemont, who thought that in the pursuit of what is right or salutary, no patriot should be discouraged by defeat, since, though he should not live to witness success, he may lay a foundation for the success of his survivors. So Cartwright, writing to the Duke of Bedford, exclaims, 'Surely, my Lord, it is for those alone whose objects are vicious, and whose means are corrupt, to be afraid of making efforts till they have conviction they shall succeed. In the best sense,

they always succeed. In such a cause, defeat is far from disgrace. They cause discussion, which, when they do not deviate into faction, is the soul of their cause.' One feature of faction, at least, made no part of our reformer's character. Regarding human nature on the bright side, and interpreting most favorably the actions of others, he was averse to all detraction and personal abuse, and discountenanced by his example that indiscriminate invective, which has been everywhere the scandal of party politics.

His private conversation was remarked for a scrupulous regard to truth, as well as for simplicity of language. His diction was in this, as in his writings, forcible and pithy, but not exaggerated. His manner had no vehemence. In his argumentative compositions, the matter is often diffuse, and the manner desultory, for he had not been trained to composition by the study of the learned languages, his ignorance of which gave perhaps to his English style that purity and correctness, for which it has been admired by good critics. As he advanced in age, his style became more compressed, and his last writings, when upwards of eighty, are acknowledged to be his best. In public, where he often appeared as a speaker, he made no pretensions to oratory. He went strait about convincing his hearers, dealing out good sense in correct language, but at a length which was sometimes tedious to those less zealous than himself, and which was the theme of some ridicule with the presses to which he was obnoxious. He was generally heard, however, with respect and even deference; and it was his great influence, no doubt, with a large class, which made him the conspicuous mark for ribaldry and ridicule. But though his delivery was usually cold and deliberate, he was sometimes animated to warmer efforts. When noticing, on one occasion, some unjust aspersions on Sir Robert Calder's naval conduct, his indignation, combining with his recollections of his favorite profession, drew from him a burst of eloquence, which excited the continued plaudits of the assembly.

Though familiar with defeat in his public career, he has given some examples of political perspicacity, and aided in the accomplishment of some objects, which both entitle him to the merit of a wise politician, and establish his claim as a benefactor of mankind. His boldness in foreseeing, and in his suggestions for preventing, the issue of the American war; that firmness in resisting abuse, to which his country is perhaps

indebted, in a good degree, for her improved jury bill ; even his justification of the French Revolution, while, with many good and wise patriots, its excesses had caused its first principles to be forgotten ; are, among others, evidences of a firm purpose, and a sagacious mind. Even in cases where his policy may seem more questionable, his merit is not small, who, amidst the crowd of wicked and scheming politicians, receives the praise of integrity at the hands of his friends, and to whom his enemies can only object, that he is mistaken.

ART. VII.—*Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy.*

By THOMAS COOPER, M. D. President of the South Carolina College, and Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy. Columbia, S. C. 1826. 8vo. pp. 280.

THE author of this volume has long been known for his literary enterprise, as well as for a singular versatility of talent, exhibited in several treatises on a variety of subjects. He held a high rank, in the first place, as a writer on those connected more immediately with his profession. We have heard him spoken of as a chemist and mineralogist of no common attainments. With the extensive and intricate science of law and of jurisprudence, general as well as local, he seems to have been familiar. He is the translator of the elementary Institutes of Justinian, and the elaborate, practical commentator on that work ; and we believe he was the first to make accessible to American students a book, about which they were destined to hear so much, and which yet, in the common course of legal education, was placed far beyond their reach. It is now on the shelves of every lawyer's library. In profound political inquiries, too, Dr Cooper has not been inactive. We have seen essays from his pen in this department, which cannot fail to have a certain degree of interest with the mass of readers ; for whatever may be thought of the soundness of the principles, or of the accuracy of the reasonings by which they are established, they display at least ability, and are entitled to the praise of being written with spirit and perspicuity, although they are upon difficult and somewhat abstruse questions.

Dr Cooper is president of the South Carolina College ; and having been relieved from the professorship of Rhetoric, Criticism, and Belles Lettres, which, it seems, devolved upon him as part of his official duties, he delivered, at the request of the trustees, a series of lectures to the senior class on the science of political economy. These lectures make up the volume before us. It lays no claim to the merit of much originality in anything. The author says, that he writes not for the adept. It was his business to introduce the pupils under his care to a full knowledge of the science in all its departments ; and he hesitated not to gather his materials from every quarter, where they most advantageously presented themselves to his view, without always trying to throw over them an air of novelty, and sometimes without even changing the language of the author to whom he stood indebted, when it appeared to him to express the reasoning and the principles clearly and forcibly. His style is not always perfectly to our taste ; it sometimes wants dignity, and in some places is even destitute of ordinary care ; faults hardly excusable, we should say, in a professor of belles lettres and criticism ; yet the general characteristic of it is to bring home plainly to the student's mind the aim and the sentiments of the writer ; and in comparison with this, all other things are, perhaps, of little moment.

Before we proceed to a more particular examination of this volume, the occasion suggests to us the propriety of saying a word or two on the importance of giving the science of political economy higher ground at all our principal seminaries of education. We think the study of it in every way advantageous. If the student becomes thoroughly interested in it, he will be led to a careful investigation of the most important facts in the policy of nations, and thus to a knowledge of their situation, of their various natural productive powers, of their resources, of their connexion and transactions with each other, of their institutions, of their character, moral as well as intellectual, of everything, in short, which has raised them, or which tends to bring about their decline.

National wealth lies at the foundation of national intelligence, and indeed of all true national greatness. It was the accumulation of that, which first drew the strong line of distinction between the savage and the civilized. Polished states owe to it all their superiority and power. By establishing the division of labor, and enabling a comparatively small number to provide

the necessities of life, and supply the common wants of every individual in society, it leaves the residue at leisure for grander and more extensively useful pursuits. It thus gives birth to the sciences and arts, to discovery, invention, improvement of every kind, and carries indefinitely far the purest and noblest enjoyments of which we are capable, as well as all those comforts and conveniences, which are indispensable to our existence. The object of political economy is to show, whence this wealth first arises; how it is naturally diffused throughout society; what are the easiest and most efficient causes of the production of it in any particular nation; and the true way in which governments can best secure its judicious appropriation and encourage its rapid advancement. Ought not the study of it, then, to be earlier and more extensively known, in our own country especially? The protection of enterprise, and of wealth in some shape, forms the sole aim of all civil legislation.

But it is not our present intention to speak of the utility of this science to the legislator or the statesman. This should be, in fact, obvious to every intelligent man; for every intelligent man in our country may be called upon either to fill those responsible stations, or to investigate strictly the legislative ability and the public administration of those who do. We are now, however, looking at the subject from an humbler point of view.

As a discipline to the pupil's mind, this study is peculiarly useful. It leads him into that sort of reasoning and of intellectual effort, which is required by all the great transactions of life. As a source of extremely pleasing as well as profitable intelligence to him, of a far more refined nature, too, than that which we have already mentioned, it holds a still higher rank in our estimation. To the inexperienced graduate at any of our colleges, who has not studied the subject scientifically, nothing can be more unintelligible and mysterious than the extensive business concerns of an opulent and flourishing community like ours. It is a vast and complicated piece of machinery, which may have excited his wonder, perhaps, but which has never called forth his active curiosity, and of which the parts that are the most familiar, and fall continually under his observation, are equally unknown, and seem to him equally inexplicable. Such, for example, is the nature of money, of banks, of the diffusion of credits, and the circulating medium in all its shapes and varieties. It would require the greatest mental power for him to comprehend, unaided, the origin of these and their

influence in the accumulation of wealth, and in the improvements of society. The science of political economy explains this, and enables him to do it easily. It points him to a few simple general principles, which reign through all the phenomena, influencing and controlling the whole, and which serve as the master springs to regulate the great movement of commerce and of enterprise in every department of human industry. This is the sort of knowledge, which becomes so indispensable to the statesman and the legislator. We speak of it now merely as it is interesting to the student.

The knowledge of some branches of political economy, too, is of much importance to the profitable perusal and even to the full understanding of history. The study of the former, as we have said, leads the student to a careful examination of the latter. But as history is now read at many of our seminaries of education, it is little better than romance or ingenious fiction. The power of the historian over minds as they are commonly instructed, lies principally in his eloquence, or in the charm of his style, or in the narration of some singularly fortunate or singularly tragical events, which are after all, perhaps, of slight consequence in themselves; while the truly valuable details are passed by as tedious and unprofitable. The growth, and the decline, and the various revolutions of empires, depend much on the powerful, though usually unnoticed character, of their laws, and of the numerous political regulations which governments think proper, from time to time, to adopt. It is to the examination of these that the student's mind is immediately conducted by the study of political economy. It is this alone which will lead him to trace to their original sources all just and valuable national wealth, prosperity, and improvement. Without some knowledge of it, the celebrated maxim of Bolingbroke, that 'History is philosophy teaching by example,' can never be true. We are not sure of seeing aright the lineaments of individual character, nor of ascertaining the exact truth of any of those startling incidents, which usually excite in common minds the most intense interest. The materials of the story may be false or imperfect. The biographer may be partial. The historian may be partial. It would be most strange, indeed, if either of them were not so. But the great events, springing as they do from laws generally promulgated, and from public political acts, which every one has an opportunity of examining, and of seeing their influences, are made plain and certain. In

the records of these things, with which alone political economy has to do, there is nothing to fear from falsehood or favor.

May we not point out to the student also another, a still higher and more elevating pleasure, which he is to derive from the study of political economy? The noblest truths in natural theology are here unfolded to him. He sees the wise and the benevolent designs of Heaven in even the most sordid passions of our nature. The true, the real interests of all nations and of all individuals appear to be in perfect union, and indeed inseparately joined. The enlightened selfishness of a man or of a people, although accompanied by no generous feeling, and even, it may be, prompted by avarice and a spirit of covetousness, and desires that look not kindly on the rights of others, is yet made, by the beneficent arrangements of Providence, to administer most effectually to the furtherance of those rights. It subserves the purposes of the most perfect benevolence, the most unqualified generosity to them. It adds immediately to the accumulation of their wealth, and leads, in the plainest manner and with unerring steps, to the rapid increase of national wealth, and to the general improvement of all the enjoyments of social life. Such, we say, are the effects which the science of political economy shows will naturally spring from truly enlightened selfishness, kept, as it always must be, within the limits of honesty. Is not this a noble lesson for the intelligent youth thoroughly to study? His own true interest can never be the instrument of evil to others; it is the minister of the highest and most extensive good. This might have been a most fruitful theme in the hands of Paley. The science of natural theology has, however, been confined to our discoveries in the material world. Its noblest field of inquiry is among the affections of the mind. It has been little thought of here.

There are some speculations in our most recent treatises on political economy, which we have heard pronounced by inconsiderate men, unimportant and worthless. It is because they have never examined their true bearings upon the subject with which they are connected. 'Of what use, for example,' says the undisciplined legislator, 'of what use to us are your subtle inquiries into the nature and origin of rent, occupying, as they do, so large a space in your most popular works? They may be curious. They may be interesting to you. Your ingenious theory seems fair, and all its results may be unanswerably true. But *cui bono*? And how is it available to us in

the enactment of laws, or in any one of our political inquiries?' We find no difficulty in answering such questions as this. Let it be remembered, that rents are intimately connected with capital, with profits, with wages, in short, with every branch and division of wealth. There is a mutual dependence among them all. Particularly let it be remembered, that the question has arisen, how rents should be taxed; and this it is the business of the legislator to decide. Some may say, they ought to be wholly exempted, because the tax will fall doubly upon the same property. The estate itself is first fully taxed, and then the proceeds, which are but part of the estate, are again separately taxed. Others, again, may think this tax ought to be laid freely, and without hesitation, because it falls upon a class of people in the community who can best afford to pay it, and whose property has risen in value by the natural progress of opulence, without any meritorious efforts of their own. It is a tax, too, they say, which will hardly touch consumption. It affects neither the wages of labor, nor the profits of stock, nor the price of any articles of necessity or convenience in the market. It is for the solution of such queries as these, that the disquisitions we have mentioned are useful. We may apply similar remarks to many others.

But it is time to return to the volume under examination. Dr Cooper devotes very few of his pages to the investigation of subjects, about which there can arise any doubt with regard to their utility, or with regard to the valuable practical results to which they may lead. His greatest efforts are, as they should be, upon the most important questions. Sometimes these may seem to betray him into an undue warmth of feeling, and induce him to make severe, though they are brief, animadversions upon the conduct of our national government, rather unnecessary and unsuitable; but all this arises, we suppose, from a deeply settled conviction of the high importance, and of the unanswerable truth of the principles he is maintaining. In these inquiries he collects together, in short and forcible paragraphs, all the arguments in favor of his own views of the subject, and then, in the same clear and impartial manner, states and answers those on the other side. There are some points, it is true, in which we do not agree with him. There are some omissions, too, some well known objections against his favorite doctrines, which he has passed unnoticed. For the writer of a text book, this is wrong. In discussing, for example, the great national

question, which is now pressed upon our attention in newspapers and pamphlets from every quarter, about the utility of 'governmental encouragements,' for the protection and support of any particular branch of domestic industry, he has neglected to say anything in reply to what may be thought the most popular argument in their favor. This argument is, that admitting them to be unprofitable to the great mass of the community, and even in the long run to the individuals themselves, whom they are particularly designed to benefit, they are still essentially and indispensably necessary in order to secure on a firm foundation our own national independence.

The answer to this is perfectly simple and satisfactory. They secure in the same proportion, and to exactly the same extent, the independence of all other nations with whom we deal. They are naturally as much dependent upon us, as we are upon them. If we will not take their exports, they will not take ours. They must be free from us. They must place no reliance upon us. They must turn from us their commerce and their capital, and pour it into new and untried channels, for the benefit of other more generous nations. Or they may learn, like us, selfishly to rest themselves on their own resources alone. We know not where the advocates who use this argument can stop. Surely it cannot be short of absolute independence. It is in vain to make a distinction between the necessities of life and luxuries. The line of separation cannot be drawn between them. The latter, in fact, soon change their character, and become indispensable. Different countries, then, are to be wholly independent of each other; and why may not different parts of the same country be also, for similar reasons, independent of each other, states independent of each other, towns independent of each other, nay, to carry the argument home, even individuals independent of each other? We think it an unpardonable abuse of the term so to appropriate it. It is an independence of which the savage or the baronial lord might fairly boast. It is an independence which breaks the enlightening spirit of commerce, and shuts up nations within Chinese walls. The most flourishing states, at the moment of their highest elevation, when they were closely connected with every part of the civilized world, by the golden chains of successful commercial enterprise, were, according to this doctrine, in the most perfect state of absolute dependence. It was not till all these connexions were dissolved, and they had sunk in degra-

dation, that their true independence commenced. But this statement cannot be just. There is a natural dependence of nations upon each other, as there is a natural dependence of individuals upon each other. Heaven has so ordered it. Some soils, some climates, some situations, are productive exclusively of some peculiar fruits, which cannot elsewhere be profitably procured. Let nations follow this as their guide. In a rich and rising community, the opulent capitalists may be as dependent upon the poor laborers, as the poor laborers upon the opulent capitalists. So it is with nations. It is the mutual dependence of individuals upon each other, which knits and binds society together, and leads them all to the most harmonious and the most rapid advancement in wealth, in intelligence, in every kind of improvement. In the same manner, though on a much larger scale, it is with the mutual dependence of nations upon each other. To this alone do we owe all the mighty efforts of commerce; and what lights, what a general diffusion of generous feeling and multiplied means of human happiness, has it not everywhere spread?

It was some such reasoning as this that we looked for from the pen of Dr Cooper. We know he is an absolute foe to every one of the principles in the old selfish system of political economy. He should have shown it here. In a text book every popular argument against an important doctrine ought to be met and answered. If it be passed unnoticed, it will be thought by some unanswerable.

We omit some other slight animadversions of this kind, which crowd in upon us, to make room for a few remarks on a single subject, on which we have a right to feel considerable interest. It is a matter of surprise to us, that Dr Cooper has given the sanction of his authority to the singular errors of Malthus. He warmly embraces the theory of population, maintained by that writer. He ranks it, indeed, with Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. '*The next step in the advancement of this science was the Essay on the principle of Population of Mr Malthus.*' All the prominent doctrines of the *Essay* are then drawn up by our author, in a long series of propositions, which are supported throughout the volume. We have said this was matter of surprise to us. It is, because it seems to us at variance with the enlightened views, which generally govern Dr Cooper in his other speculations. His great principle is, that there is a *vis medicatrix naturæ* at work everywhere, and that the natural

feelings and dispositions of man, undirected and uncontrolled but by the rules of justice, obviously tend to the most rapid advancement of his own condition, and to the most rapid advancement also in opulence and improvement, of the whole community to which he belongs. Our author must say, the principle is not applicable here. Population has a natural and necessary tendency, as he maintains, to go beyond the means of subsistence. It constantly needs, therefore, check and control.

‘Population had a natural and inevitable tendency to overreach subsistence; since the human race, where subsistence was easily obtained, had a tendency to increase in a ratio approaching a geometrical ratio; while the increase of food could not proceed beyond an arithmetical ratio, and even in that case, had its limits. Hence, instead of encouraging population, which no where and at no time needed it, the wisest course for the sake of the poor as well as the rich, was rather to throw obstacles in its way; it being evident that the poor would live better, when subsistence was plentiful, and laborers scarce and in demand.’ p. 11.

Neither he, nor any of the advocates of this system, has told us what are to be the proper and the truly effectual restrictions on this dangerous tendency of population. It is unnecessary that they should. We believe the great principle, which we have cited, to be as applicable here, as it is in every other department of nature. Some of our views on this subject we have stated at considerable length hitherto. But it is by no means exhausted. And as the doctrine, which we have labored to refute, though peculiarly gloomy, and in collision with the most glorious truths, and extremely injurious, too, in its consequences, is still a favorite one, countenanced by able writers on political economy, and becoming, as it seems, fashionable in our own country, we shall not think our time misspent in calling our readers’ attention to it again; keeping clear, however, as far as possible, of what has been previously said with relation to it.

In the chapter which our author has written in support of the doctrines of Mr Malthus, he has the following strictures upon Mr Everett’s ‘New Ideas on Population.’ To this last work we have, on several occasions, called the attention of our readers. Although in some respects defective, we still think it contains enough to refute the celebrated theory of Malthus.

‘But there is one consideration laying at the root of the whole business, which he [Mr Everett] does not seem to have thought of. Who is to employ these laborers? In the first instance, and when they are not wanted?

'Suppose a farmer having grazing land barely sufficient for the fattening ten oxen, should purchase fifteen. Is it not clear that if he continues to maintain the fifteen on the land barely sufficient for ten, although they may exist, none of them will fatten ?

'Suppose this farmer has grazing land sufficient to fatten twenty oxen, but has not capital enough to furnish himself with more than ten, is it not evident that his power of giving food to ten more, is circumscribed by his want of power to buy them ?

'Suppose a community with all its employments filled, the whole of its capital embarked and engaged, and the whole of its working population hired, and every mode of employing labor already occupied, who is to give labor, and wages, and subsistence, to a constantly increasing crowd of laborers beyond the demand ? Those already in employ, and who have already filled to the utmost every vacant situation, will not give up their means of subsistence to new comers. What is the result ? Competition ensues ; the new comers offer to work for less compensation ; the rate of wages is lowered ; the power of purchasing food is diminished ; subsistence is more scanty ; and a half starved laboring population, produce a sickly debilitated offspring, a prey to diseases of all kinds. At length death, by thinning the ranks of the working class, brings the supply to a level with the demand, and cures the evil. This is the inevitable progress. (See Statistical Illustrations of the British Empire, 1825. Preface, page 14.)

'It is in vain to talk then of laborers furnishing their own subsistence. Before they can be employed at all, there must be surplus capital and a demand for their labor. Who will employ them who does not want them ?'

'The want, the demand must exist for labor before laborers can be employed. Till then, they are not merely an useless, but a burthensome addition to the population.' pp. 237, 238.

But there is one consideration, also, which Dr Cooper does not seem to have thought of ; or else he has assumed the whole ground of the controversy, and taken for granted the very question in dispute. Business, we say, continually increases ; capital is always accumulating ; employments are multiplying as constantly and as rapidly as human beings ; greater calls for industry arise, and new and broader avenues to wealth are opened for the spirit of activity and enterprise. Our author, however, seems to go here on the supposition, that these things are comparatively stationary, or that they are incapable of keeping pace with the progress of population ; although he gives us no reasons for this inference. This, we say, is

begging the question. He offers no farther considerations on this particular head, than those we have quoted in the foregoing extract, and we confess we can see nothing like an argument there, for all the points of the disputed subject are assumed. Some of the facts we have just stated are too obviously true to require any direct proof. There is a continual, an unvarying tendency towards an equal progress in the increase of our species, the accumulation of capital, and the multiplication of employments, and this in consequence of the extension and improvements in agriculture, in commerce, in manufactures, in every branch and department, in short, of human industry. It is true, each one of these principles may, and often will, in its turn, for a time prevail over and outdo the others. Even the rapid increase of capital may be checked or kept down by the want of laborers. This is a demand, however, which will not be very long without a corresponding supply. Then population increases most rapidly, and at no distant period will overtake and outstrip, though not check, the accumulation of capital. The business is overdone. The laborers for a very short period may find the demand for themselves slack, and employments scarce. But in the mean time the rapid accumulation of capital, so far from being stopped or even retarded in its career by the great increase of consumers, goes on in fact with an accelerating force merely in consequence of that increase. This moves and keeps it in profitable action, until the required supply is furnished. The restrictions on the one operate as a stimulus to the other. The doctrine of checks and balances applies here, as in every other part of nature. We know perfectly well, that the rapid progress of opulence calls for more and more laborers to keep it productively employed, while these again, in their turn, push on still further the progress of opulence, so that they mutually aid each other onward. We do not believe that either of the great principles we have mentioned naturally tends to continue excessive. We say *naturally*, because vicious political institutions, operating to debase the character of a people, and pervert and change their true motives to action, may lead to different results, and will require different rules for estimating their causes. These exceptions, however, are not to be taken into the account. It is the natural tendency of population always and unremittingly more and more to overreach the means of subsistence, about which the inquiry is now raised. This is the true question on which we are at issue with Dr Cooper.

It does not at all diminish our surprise at his embracing the theory of Malthus, when we recollect that recent writers on political economy, Mill and M'Culloch, for example, have done the same thing. Dr Cooper is not one of those men, who take a name instead of an argument. He commonly, though the present case we believe forms a remarkable exception, examines well the reasonings on which any great principle is founded, before he is willing to adopt and make it his own. Now the reasoning of both the economists we have cited seems to us here entirely inconclusive and false. That of M'Culloch is made up almost entirely of assumptions like those of our author; Mill's is more specious, and merits a more accurate examination. As we are somewhat anxious to do our little towards setting matters right on this subject, we shall briefly review the ground taken by the last named writer, and ascertain how well his positions are supported. His whole treatise is in high repute. It has never, we believe, been republished in this country; probably, therefore, it is not in the hands of many of our readers.

He thinks that if the increase of capital, and the increase of population, kept pace with each other, all would go on perfectly well. But he agrees with Malthus and our author in supposing, that the latter has a steady and a growing tendency always to outstrip the former, and hence arises the danger. After having stated, at length and elaborately, the increase of population, he says,

‘We come next to consider the tendency which capital may have to increase. If that should increase as fast as population, for every laborer produced the means of employment and subsistence would also be produced, and no degradation of the great body of the people would ensue.

‘As soon as it is understood from what source all increase of capital must be derived, the opinion of its rapid increase can no longer be retained. *All increase of capital is from savings.*’ p. 51.

He then speaks of the motives to saving which may exist among the various classes of people in any community, and insists that they are comparatively few and inefficient. ‘This disposition [to save] is still so weak, in almost all the situations in which human beings have ever been placed, as to make the progression slow. That the same will continue to be the case, appears to be secured by the strongest principles of our nature.’ The poor, he says, have not the means of saving. It is need-

less, therefore, to speak of their motives. The rich have no desire to do it.

‘It is well known, however, that a class of rich men, in the middle of a class of poor, are not apt to save. The possession of a large fortune generally whets the appetite for immediate enjoyment. And the man who is already in possession of a fortune, yielding him all the enjoyments, which fortune can command, has a feeble inducement to save. Why should he deprive himself of present enjoyment, to accumulate that, of which the use to him is so insignificant?’ p. 52.

The same sort of reasoning as this he applies in detail to all the intermediate classes, to the affluent, to those with moderate fortunes, to those in easy, comfortable circumstances. They all, he says, are totally destitute of any strong motives to save.

‘When a man possesses, what we are now supposing possessed by the great body of the people, food, clothing, lodging, and all other things sufficient not only for comfortable, but pleasurable existence, he possesses the means of all the substantial enjoyments of human life. The rest is in a great measure fancy. The pleasures, which can be added to those of which he is thus in possession, are comparatively neither numerous nor strong. That any considerable proportion of mankind, with all the temptations of instant enjoyment, will forego, to any considerable degree, the most substantial pleasures, in order to accumulate the means of a few fanciful pleasures at a distant period, our experience of the laws of human nature forbids us to suppose.’ p. 53.

We are sorry we have not room for more copious extracts from this writer’s remarks on the subject. The result of all is, ‘These considerations prove, that more than moderate effects can rarely flow from the motives to save,’ while the tendency of population to increase rapidly he has fully proved, and indeed is admitted on all hands. The latter, then, is always overreaching and pressing on the former, among some classes of society. This produces all their misery.

But it seems to us, that in this enumeration of the causes of increasing capital, Mr Mill has passed unnoticed one of the strongest principles of our nature; a principle, which adds infinitely more to it than all the other causes together. We mean the mere spirit of accumulation itself. Let it not be confounded with avarice, or the mere sordid love of property, which as much retards the general accumulation of wealth, as the passion to which we refer promotes it. This is not to be

ranked among the calculating motives, of which Mr Mill has been speaking. It is just, it is generous, it is often united with the highest degree of patriotism, benevolence, philanthropy. What noble instances of these have we had among our merchants, who owe all their gains to the spirit of which we are speaking, who are still pursuing them with unabated ardor. Whenever a plan of great public or private liberality is on foot, it is started, or receives its most efficient support, from the body of those enterprising men, whose strongest and most prevailing passion is still the love of accumulation. It is not, in fact, until after this has become in some measure extinct, that avarice commences its reign. Then the mind may turn from enterprise to contemplate what enterprise has gained.

It was the answer of an opulent merchant to a young adventurer, who asked him how much wealth would satisfy him, and at what amount he should be perfectly willing to stop, 'At no conceivable amount,' said he, 'our aim for ever is to procure *more*.' And so it is in every department of human genius and industry. Possession brings satiety. An active mind never is content with being stationary, to however noble a height it may be exalted. It is the wise ordering of Providence, that its happiness lies not in repose. Whatever paths it may be pursuing, its great and growing desire is still continually for progress, improvement, even after it has long left all its compeers far behind it. The passion for accumulation is thus an instance, though a very humble one, it is true, of the most powerful and persevering principle of our nature,—the principle of unceasing advancement, the principle which drew tears from Alexander, because he had no more worlds to conquer. It is to this, we believe, and not to the selfish, calculating motives of comfort and convenience, which Mr Mill has enumerated, that we owe the vast fabrics of opulence, which we see rising around us, from commerce, from manufactures, from agriculture, from every quarter, in fact, where human enterprise is left free. These remarks are a sufficient reply to the reflections we have quoted, on the few and slight causes, which necessarily make capital accumulate slowly. We might have contented ourselves with simply denying the fact. We know, indeed, that it does sometimes increase with astonishing rapidity, and for a long period too, with far more rapidity, than even population itself. In the history of various places in our own country, everybody may turn to convincing instances of this. The ratios here

might often be reversed. Capital has gone on geometrically, population only arithmetically.

Mr Malthus and his disciples must go on the assumption, that the real price of food is rising and becoming gradually higher from century to century, in every advancing country. This, however, we suspect, is far from the truth. On the contrary, we believe, it as invariably falls and becomes lower. The division of labor succeeds in cheapening this, as it succeeds in cheapening all the other comforts and conveniences of life. Nor are discovery and invention chained and compelled here alone, where they are most wanted, to be inactive. It is impossible, perhaps, to estimate the uniformity or the variations in the real price of an article from period to period, by any particular standard or measure of value, because, in the mean time, the standard or the measure may also have materially varied. A bushel of corn, for example, may command more money now, and probably more of every other article of convenience or luxury, than it would a century ago. But it does not therefore follow that its real price has absolutely risen. The real price of everything else brought into comparison with it has evidently fallen. The real price of this, too, may have fallen, although not so much, perhaps, as that of all the various commodities with which it is directly or indirectly exchanged. The declining motion in the prices of these has been so rapid, compared with that of the other, that this will seem to be stationary, or its apparent motion may be rising, while it is, in fact, lowering along with the rest, but more slowly and unsteadily. These reflections will explain all the phenomena, that can be urged against us on this subject.

There is, however, one circumstance which proves to us incontestibly, that the price of food rapidly falls as society advances in opulence. If there were no other, this would be sufficient for our purpose. It is, that a far less proportion of the labor of a whole community is necessary to furnish articles of food to supply the wants of its citizens, than was required in the earliest stages of its progress. In savage life, every man is obliged to toil or hunt for the necessaries of life, in order to procure for himself sustenance from day to day. In the childhood of society the case is continually improving, although it may for a long time wear something of the same character. But in its full maturity and manhood, when it has arrived at high degrees of opulence and prosperity, how changed is its

situation in this respect, and how small the number of those, compared with that of the great mass of the community to which they belong, who are called upon, and must make it their sole business to procure and distribute the means of subsistence, sufficient to meet and satisfy the continually multiplying demands. It is to be observed, too, that these demands are not like those in the earlier periods of society. They become refined, grow more and more luxurious, and are not to be so easily appeased or turned off. It is not necessary for us, however, to dwell upon this, or to trace minutely its particular causes. Food evidently becomes cheaper. This may be owing mainly to the extension of agriculture, or rather, we should say, to improvements in every department of the vegetable kingdom; for corn is not the only basis of subsistence, nor indeed in all cases indispensably necessary to it, as Mr Malthus and his followers seem in all their reasonings to assume. How far these improvements may be extended we cannot calculate. They seem to us indefinite. Discovery and invention, those mighty agents, which are the most busy and productive when necessity calls them to her aid, will find nature here, as elsewhere, inexhaustible. The farther they have proceeded, generally, the more clear and boundless is the field before them. We know not why there should be supposed an exception, where an exception is the most alarming, and seems most inconsistent with Heaven's great general law of universal benevolent design. The fruitful nutritious powers of the earth we believe to be infinite. Let us not give way, then, to the weak, disheartening apprehensions, which seem to have arisen from some of the speculations we have just been considering, that, unless checked by war, by disease, by famine, or pestilence, population must so increase, as at no distant period to overrun all the cultivable parts of the globe, and drain them completely of their fruits and of their resources. Such fears ought not to be allowed to mingle themselves with the views of an enlightened philosophy.

The writers of the new school estimate the *tendency* of population to increase by the ratio, in which it *can actually increase* under the most favorable circumstances. We have a right to apply the same principle in estimating the tendency of food to increase. The question then is, not what amount of this, compared with the population, there actually is in any particular country, but what amount it is capable of procuring if at any time it were imperiously called for. Suppose that all the

controllable checks on its increase, of which there are many, were suspended, and that the labor, ingenuity, and wealth of an opulent community were for a very short period applied to the growth or to the procuring of various kinds of food alone, we believe that a geometrical ratio will feebly express its tendency to increase, if the amount of it be at intervals compared with the progress of the society from its earliest efforts. It certainly never does multiply in that proportion, and the reason is apparent. It is not wanted. There would be a wild, pernicious waste, the destructive influences of which must be felt by every class of people, if it were so produced.—Production would infinitely exceed; for a time, profitable consumption. We have a right, however, to consider such to be its natural tendency of increase, if it be fair to speak, as has been done, of the natural tendency to increase in the human species. It is only applying the same principle of reasoning to both.

The truth is, there is no propriety in so speaking of either of them. Food has no natural tendency to increase, as we have formerly said, even in an arithmetical ratio. Man increases it. Man is capable of increasing it indefinitely at pleasure, and far beyond any ratio that has been assigned to the multiplication of the human race. Even in those very countries, where the laboring classes seem to approach nearest to the borders of famine, there is waste and profusion of subsistence, and vast stores of unappropriated wealth, which might be all turned to the production of infinitely larger quantities, if these were efficiently demanded. The suffering poor may not be able to bring any of this ill-used abundance within their reach. Why is this? Vicious political institutions have cursed them. Or, what is not improbable, they have not chosen aright the professions or the callings, which can alone empower them to procure the supply of what the profusion of the rich is always a full demand. At any rate, there is no universal scarcity of food; nothing that approaches to a general want. There is enough, if it were brought within their reach.

It was our wish, and our intention, to carry our remarks on this question to a greater extent, than we are at present permitted to do. Many other strong considerations in support of our opinions are now before us. But we have already transgressed our limits, and must close this article. Before taking leave of Dr Cooper's book, however, we are bound to say, that we have hardly spoken so much at length of its merits as it

deserves. With a few exceptions, it abounds in enlightened views and clear statements. It is written throughout with force and spirit, and may be recommended to such pupils, as wish to run over a brief outline of the important branches of the science, and awaken a livelier interest in the more extensive study of it.

ART. VIII.—*The Speeches of HENRY CLAY, delivered in the Congress of the United States; to which is prefixed a Biographical Memoir, with an Appendix, containing his Speeches at Lexington and Lewisburg, and before the Colonization Society at Washington; together with his Address to his Constituents, on the Subject of the late Presidential Election.* Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 381.

WE believe this to be the first volume of speeches of one individual, which has been published in our country. There were, doubtless, in the first generation of legislators under the Constitution several, whose collected speeches would amply suffice to fill a volume. But in consequence of the less improved condition of the reporter's art in former years, and of the general infancy of the American press, the parliamentary eloquence of the country has hitherto obtained no better record than the columns of the newspapers. Exceptions to this remark exist in Lloyd's Register of Debates in the first Congress (of which the second and third volumes were republished shortly after their original appearance), in the collection of debates on the British treaty, and in a few similar publications. In no former case however, we believe, has the American public been gratified with a volume of the collected speeches of any single one of our public men.

In England, as is well known, such collections are frequently made. We possess the collected speeches of almost all the eminent politicians, who have flourished since the art of reporting has been brought to a high degree of improvement. To the politician, such works are exceedingly valuable. In no way more advantageous, can the political history of any period be studied, than in the parliamentary expositions of prominent statesmen. Without these expositions, measures indeed may

be matter of history ; but their original springs, their connexion with a political system, and their bearing on constitutional law, as understood by their advisers, can be but imperfectly apprehended.

If this be true in England, where Parliament lays claim to political omnipotence and the power of changing the constitution by an act of legislation, it is peculiarly true in this country, in which a power beyond the legislature is recognised, residing in the people, and acting through the constitution as the expression of their will. It is this, which gives such importance to the authentic speeches of wise statesmen of the present day, and still more of the earlier days under the federal constitution. Whatever the people intended in that expression of their will which we call the Constitution, or whatever is necessarily deduced from its provisions, is the law of the land. On account of the imperfection of language, it is not in every case, and in the vast variety of individual actions, possible to pronounce, as a matter of course, what is or is not the rule of the constitution as applied to that case. Whenever a doubt arises, contemporaneous or closely subsequent expositions of the constitution, proceeding from judicious and able statesmen, are of inestimable value. And these expositions are mostly to be sought in the records of congressional debate.

We know of no undertaking, which would be of greater interest to our politicians, and the students of our political history, than a work arranged on the model of the Parliamentary History of Great Britain. It is not yet too late to compile it. The materials are in existence and in respectable quantity. Lloyd's Register is a tolerably ample sketch of the debates, in the House of Representatives, during the most interesting period, that of the first Congress. Separate collections, as we have above observed, exist of the speeches on some very prominent questions ; and the newspapers published at the seat of government for the time being, are provided with something like a series of reports, from the adoption of the constitution to the present time. Such a work has indeed been suggested by the enterprising publishers of the Congressional Register, and we confidently believe, that it would be highly acceptable to the community.

Till such a work is achieved, and even after it shall have been achieved, separate collections, like that now before us, of the speeches of individual statesmen, will remain among the

most valuable of the politician's materials. The political history of a country is, in a good degree, the history of its eminent men. Their lives and public measures are the property of the country, and their good fame is its best treasure. The public sentiment and feeling of the community are scarce ever embodied in a more authentic form, than that of the discourses of responsible individuals, in the legislative assemblies of the nation. With the measures to which they relate, such speeches will go down to other times as a portion of the action of the age; of the general result of the wondrously complicated political machine. If there be any part of political history, which is more peculiarly endued with vitality, and elevated above the dead letter of form and official routine, it is the appeal of the able and the wise to their contemporaries and to the world, for the motives and principles, on which their measures are taken.

Regarding the record and preservation of the debates in our legislative assemblies, as a matter of such interest and moment, the means adopted to attain these ends immediately become important. It is a very mistaken conception, that the effect of a good or a bad state of the art of reporting is merely, whether we shall or shall not have a faithful record of what is spoken in our deliberative assemblies at any particular time. On the contrary, the history of parliamentary eloquence teaches us, that on the condition of the reporter's art will very much depend the character and quality of the debates themselves. Till the art of reporting contemporaneously was introduced, parliamentary eloquence, in the modern acceptation of the term, can scarcely be said to have existed.

Among the Greeks and Romans, it is well understood, the best orators wrote their speeches either before or after they were spoken, probably, in most cases, the former. It is this with which Demosthenes (according to Plutarch) was reproached, when it was said, that his speeches smelt of the lamp. We find among those of his speeches, which have come down to us, several repetitions of passages too long in themselves, and too exactly repeated in some points, and too carefully varied in others, to be ascribed to chance. There is also among the works of Demosthenes a series of compositions, which, under the name of *Proems*, were intended to serve as suitable introductions to speeches, on any and every subject. In like manner, the orations which are preserved to us from Cicero, are evidently written compositions; and some of them, it is known, were never spoken.

The parliamentary eloquence of England is of little consideration, till the time of Lord Chatham. There were, it is true, great geniuses, wise and accomplished statesmen, and, no doubt, powerful speakers in both houses of Parliament, from the time that public measures began to be discussed in that body. But when we cast our thoughts back, and ask, who were the famous orators of the time of Queen Elizabeth, of the Commonwealth, or of the period of James the Second, we are unable, amidst all the great names of the great men, to point them out, in anything now remaining. Sir William Pepys, indeed, tells us, that he himself had credit for the best speech ever made in Parliament,—a circumstance certainly not calculated to give us a high notion of the standard of parliamentary eloquence at that period.

We are well aware, that one great reason for the poverty of the parliamentary eloquence of earlier days is to be sought in political causes. There can be no eloquence in discussion, where there is no independence of decision within doors, and no power of public sentiment without. The growth of parliamentary eloquence in England has kept pace with the march of free principles in the country, and the necessary deference of the government to the public sentiment, in the administration of affairs: Burke is reported to have said, that ‘the debates a century ago were comparative vestry discussions to what they afterwards became.’ This change, in the opinion of his biographer,* ‘was chiefly owing to Burke himself.’ He is considered, ‘by the enlarged views, by the detailed expositions of policy, the intermixture of permanent truths bearing on temporary facts, and the general lustre and air of wisdom, which he was the first to introduce at large into parliamentary discussions, greatly to have exalted the character of Parliament itself, and by the display of his own characteristics to have excited the emulation of others.’

No person can be more disposed than we, to ascribe to the influence of Burke’s example all that can be effected by that of any man, and more than was effected by that of any other man. But would the eloquence of Burke itself have been what it was, but for the aid, which the press began at this period to yield to the debates? Does not the whole elaborate structure of his speeches show, that they were conceived under

*Prior’s Life of Burke, Second Edition, vol. ii. p. 466.

the operation of the assurance, that they would go out to the world? Had these splendid orations, one after another, died away within the narrow walls of the House of Commons, and nothing of them gone forth, but the evanescent rumor of their power, is it possible, either that Burke himself would have persevered in their production, or that others would have kindled with emulation?

In our opinion it is clearly impossible, and we ascribe, in a considerable degree, to the introduction of the practice of contemporaneous reporting, the sudden and extraordinary growth of parliamentary eloquence, which dates from the latter part of Lord Chatham's career. We do not conceive that there is anything extravagant in attributing so important an effect to a cause, which may seem at first insignificant. It is precisely the effect of the invention of alphabetical writing on the primitive literature of Greece; the effect of the introduction of paper on prose composition; and the effect of the art of printing on learning in general.

Till speeches began to be reported in detail and contemporaneously, the public at large was almost wholly uninformed of what passed within the walls of parliament. So long as it was a breach of privilege to publish what was there uttered, it is very clear that few men would strain their minds to the utmost reach, in the highest efforts of the art of speaking well.

It is only therefore, we repeat, since the practice of contemporaneous reporting grew up in England, that parliamentary eloquence has been placed, in that country, upon its present improved footing. Nothing before it of the kind, in the history of the intellectual world, can be compared with it. We apprehend that the careful observer, who shall go into the house of commons, listen to the speeches (unpremeditated as to language and form) of the most distinguished members, follow the discussion to a division the same evening, and the next morning at breakfast find those speeches reported faithfully in three or four newspapers, of which about thirty thousand copies have been struck off and are in circulation, will admit that he has witnessed a spectacle of intellectual, political, and mechanical power combined, such as is nowhere else to be found.

Did the matter stop here, it would certainly be one of curious investigation. But inasmuch as this is the great apparatus by which the British government is administered,—by which a greater amount of *governmental* business (if we may fabricate

the word) is done, than is anywhere else performed, it deserves the consideration of practical statesmen. It deserves the consideration especially of American statesmen, because our institutions are a series of alternate similitude and contrast with the English. Most other governments are wholly foreign to us. The English government presents much that we have directly imitated, in close connexion with much, which we have directly avoided.

The congressional eloquence of America is, we think, in no high repute among ourselves. We do not refer merely to the habitual sarcasm or ridicule thrown upon it, mostly for purposes of personal satire or party detraction. To this kind of reproach every part of the machinery of a free government is ever obnoxious. Where the press is free, men will joke their political opponents, and the English Parliament is as sadly quizzed as the American Congress, by all the real or affected *beaux esprits*, who constitute themselves guardians of the public weal. If classical authority be wanted, Pericles was the great butt of the satirists of his day. But we apprehend that, in America, the matter goes a little farther than this. The debates in Congress appear to us to be spoken disrespectfully of, by many of the judicious portion of the community; of that portion, who really say less than they feel and think, and whose censures deserve to be listened to.

This consideration has suggested to us the propriety of some inquiry into the different character of the eloquence of the English Parliament and of the American Congress, and of the causes of this difference, if any substantial difference shall be found to exist. We may perhaps trace the superiority of the English parliamentary eloquence, in part, to circumstances incompatible with our free institutions.

In the English Parliament, there are fewer speakers than in the American Congress. Except on rare occasions, which call out particular individuals not otherwise accustomed to debate, three or four members on the ministerial side of the house, and as many more on the opposition, are all that speak on questions of general interest. These individuals may not be the same on every question; but one gentleman is more likely to speak on a matter of foreign politics, another on retrenchment, a third on the Catholic question, a fourth on parliamentary reform, and not more than one or two on either side undertake the character of general champions. One

of these is of course the leading minister on the side of government, and occasionally an individual has, we believe, been formally designated, as the leader of his majesty's opposition.

Various causes may account for this paucity of speakers in the House of Commons. There is little motive for the inexperienced, the inefficient, the uninformed, (of whom there is a larger portion in the House of Commons, than in the American Congress) to attempt to speak. Every question is sure to be discussed in a masterly manner, by a sufficient number of first-rate men; and what should tempt the others to place themselves in so disadvantageous a contrast? In this country there are many motives. The fear of the constituent is one. Members are sent from their several districts by a free choice of the citizens, and they suppose their constituents have an eye upon them, to see how they acquit themselves, at least to see that they acquit themselves somehow. The seat of government is remote from most of the districts, and its population is not large enough to possess of itself an operative public sentiment, whereas London is the great sensorium of the British empire. The member of parliament who does not produce a favorable impression at London, produces none at all, but is irretrievably lost. With us, the least concern of a member of Congress is how he stands at Washington. His heart is in Carolina, in Maine, or beyond the Alleghanies. With these distant regions he communicates through the press. The speaking is the smallest part of the business; it is only the occasion, the justification, for publishing a speech in the newspapers, and perhaps in a pamphlet, to be sent home to his constituents.

In England this fear of the constituent exists, indeed, to a certain extent, but far less than in this country, either as to intensity or generality. One class of members of the House of Commons hold their places entirely independent of any form of popular election. Certainly the members from old Sarum have to make no speeches to satisfy their constituents. Another class of members of Parliament may take upon their lips that well known reply of a loving member to those whom he purported to represent, '— you, gentlemen, I have bought you, and do you think I will not sell you?' When Burke knocked down one of Lord Somebody's ninepins, the aforesaid ninepin did not need to make a speech to his constituents to get himself up again; it was enough if he stood

rectus in curiâ with his master. Still, however, this class of members is by no means, as a class, the most insignificant. Organized as English society is, the rotten and close boroughs are the means by which a very considerable part of the talent of the House of Commons is brought within its walls. The representation of the counties is monopolized by the most powerful and wealthy families in them, and can rarely be contested but at an enormous expense. The matter is nearly the same with the populous boroughs; and it is only the boroughs, which are avowedly or virtually under patronage, or influence amounting to patronage, that give entrance to men of talent, unsupported by fortune, but brought forward by political or personal friends. It is plain, however, that composed as we have represented the House of Commons to be, there is much less inducement to speak to the ear of the constituent than with us.

Out of some of the same causes grows a party discipline in the English House of Commons of which we here know little or nothing. Men there depend more for their political standing on their party, and less on their constituents. In the ordinary state of things in our own country, the attempt to lead, on the part of a few individuals of a party, meets with no success. Neither side of the House of Representatives, or of the Senate of the United States, would submit to have the liberty of speech engrossed by half a dozen members. A half a dozen others believing themselves, and justly perhaps, equal to the designated few, would be ready, on the first occasion, to throw off their allegiance, and speak for themselves and their constituents. The political leaders, in fact, in this country, seem to be perpetually baffled by the difficulty of getting followers. 'Make way, gentlemen,' (once cried a Massachusetts representative to the populace, who were crowding him out of his place, in the procession on election day), 'make way, we are the representatives of the people.' 'Make way yourself,' replied a sturdy member of the throng, 'we are the people themselves.' Excepting in a time of keen political warfare and high party excitement, there is no principle, on which a few individuals would here be permitted to monopolize the privilege of speaking in either house of Congress, however great their superiority over their brethren. In the House of Commons, it is not only no assumption for a few men, on each side, to take the thing pretty much into their own hands; but the assumption is thought to be on the part of the member

who, not being of the *élite* should presume to take up the time of the house. A new member is, we believe, usually listened to with great forbearance and even courtesy. Common justice of course demands, that the stranger should be permitted to offer a taste of his quality. Once heard, he is allowed to rise as high as mere merit will carry him, or the merit he may have, united with such other means of rising as are in his power. But no man is suffered, for any length of time, to whet his dullness on the House of Commons. That is not the place, where downright incapacity is allowed, by oft essaying and frequent failure, to work itself up into a respectable measure of prosing mediocrity. If on the first or second trial, the unfledged legislator fail, he is remanded, beyond appeal, to the Freemason's Hall and the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to move resolutions at charitable meetings, and return thanks for the drinking of his health at a public dinner.

When we speak of a party discipline in England, which enables the leaders in Parliament to dispense pretty cavalierly with the speaking services of their adherents, we would have the word understood in the large sense, which belongs to the state of society in that country. Mere handsome speaking talent, backed by a reasonable allowance of sense, general information, and political knowledge, does not possess the relative weight in England which it does in America. In Congress, the weight and standing of members are in pretty exact proportion to their talent, political experience and reputation, and power of debate. Wealth gives no ascendancy, such a thing as rank is unknown, and parliamentary and executive influence quite as much so. In Parliament, talent, whether for speaking or anything else, is but one element that goes to ascertain the member's character. The patronage of the crown, family, property, command of votes by influence over boroughs (a modification of monied influence), and the action on the legislature of the great institutions and corporations of the state, such as the church, the bank, the army, the navy, the courts, are so many cooperating influences, which strongly qualify the mere power of talent, and make its manifestation by speaking of less avail.

Another circumstance, which tends to curtail speaking in the House of Commons, and bring debates within limits to which they have never been confined in this country, is the manifest necessity of the case, in consequence of the vast

amount of business, which is to be done. The revenue in England may now be taken at sixty millions of pounds sterling. This may be allowed to be near twelve times as much as ours. Now the quantity of business in a government may at least be assumed to be in proportion to its revenue. In England, it increases no doubt in a ratio larger than that of the increase of the revenue, because a good deal of business comes upon Parliament, not connected with the raising or disbursing the funds of the state. The sessions of Parliament are annually not much longer than the long session of our Congress. We will allow for safe calculation, that, while the two sessions of Congress average five months each, the annual sessions of Parliament average six months. Here then, in a session but one sixth longer, twelve times as much business is to be done. The consequence is, that less time, in that proportion, must be passed in debate, and more must be devoted to business, otherwise the wheels of government must stop. The Congress of the United States feels this pressure of business, during a part of the session, in the same way. As the session draws near to a close, the houses become impatient of debate. Questions, which it is, in the nature of things, impossible to settle without long debate, are thrust aside. Questions, which a majority think at all events ought to pass, are forced through by the 'previous question' (a course never adopted in Congress without great reluctance, but resorted to in Parliament as freely as a motion to lay on the table); while questions of minor importance, and particularly private bills, which at an earlier stage of the session would have provoked long debates, are often taken towards its close *sub silentio*, or on the faith of the committees. In the result, more business is sometimes done in a week, or even a day, toward the end of the session, than in a month at its commencement. While this pressure of business exists, of course, all metaphysics on constitutional interpretation, and all popular appeals to the remote constituent, are by necessity shut out. To a certain extent the British Parliament is, for the greater part of the session, under this duress of business. They must act, to keep the mighty fabric of government from falling about their ears.

There is another abundant source of speech-making, which operates in Congress, and not at all, or to a much less degree, in Parliament, and to which we have just alluded, namely, the unsettled state of some constitutional questions. Our govern-

ment, being founded on a written instrument, and being too recent to have been settled by immemorial usage, in regard to every possible question, the constitutionality of measures is very apt to be drawn into discussion. There is hardly any matter of legislation, which does not in some form, undergo a constitutional argument. Universal experience in fact shows that no subject is more favorable to protracted argumentation, than the interpretation of written documents; and a good deal of our debating is of this nature. In Parliament there is very little of this kind of debate. Parliament is omnipotent; in other words, can amend the constitution by an act of legislation. All the written documents which can be considered as forming part of the English constitution (excepting acts of Parliament) are of considerable antiquity. We do not recollect any great constitutional question, that has been started in England, of late years, unless it be that, which was raised by the late king, Whether the emancipation of the Catholics was consistent with the obligations imposed by the coronation oath; a question arising on the construction of a written formula, of comparatively recent origin; and thus confirming our view of the adaptation of a written constitution of recent origin to create discussion. Almost every question presented to Parliament is a simple question of public or private expediency. In America, every important treaty, requiring a law to carry it into effect, every proposition for a system of bankruptcy, for a modification of the federal courts, for internal improvement, for an increase of duties on importations, is capable of being made, nay, is likely (not to say certain) to be made, a constitutional question. These questions, unexpected as it may be, are for the present rather multiplying than decreasing in number. This fact, however, may be satisfactorily explained. The first generation of our legislators were many of them of the body, who framed the constitution; others of them had been of the state conventions, who adopted it; and all the rest were at least contemporary with its framers. Some things, therefore, were tacitly assumed by them as matters of well understood notoriety, which by an ingenious mind of the present day, arguing solely on the written text of the constitution, may be drawn into question. Thus the legislature of the ancient and respectable commonwealth of Virginia, has recently resolved, by a large majority, that Congress has by the constitution no power to protect manufactures, no such power being

enumerated in the instrument. The second law, however, passed under the federal constitution purports to be, for 'the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures.'

Another consideration will partly explain the comparative redundancy of speaking in the American Congress. We have already observed, that its members are, politically speaking, much more on a level with each other, than those of the British Parliament, which ranges from the prime minister, substantially the sovereign of the country, down to the merest political cipher, who comes in for his own borough. Whereas in the American Congress, notwithstanding the necessary gradation of talent and political standing and consequent influence, there is no such enormous disparity between the speaking leaders and the silent mass of a party. But it may be further observed, that a larger proportion of the American Congress, than of the British Parliament, possesses what is commonly called 'speaking talent,' taking that phrase now in its lowest sense. A very large majority of the members of Congress are lawyers; generally speaking, selected in consequence of their eminence in their districts. This implies, therefore, the talent of addressing court and jury, and the audience usually collected to witness the administration of justice. The audience assembled in the halls of Congress, it is true, is different, and might be supposed to require a different style of speaking. But a great majority of the members being lawyers, they set their own fashion of debate; for instance, in making a free use of a voluminous brief wholly unknown in the English Parliament. In this latter body, the lawyers are a small minority, nor do the majority come with any previous training as public speakers. A very limited recourse is had to notes, either by way of recording what drops in debate, in order to reply; or by way of assistance to the invention. A very large proportion of the speeches in Parliament are made without the use of notes. A very large proportion of the speeches in Congress are made from ample notes. The talent of speaking from notes, with a given degree of precision, and to an equal point of effect, is, of course, much more plentiful, than that of speaking in the same way, without notes. In the French chambers of legislation, for want of practice in the art of extempore speaking even from notes, the members are reduced (we speak of a

period eight or ten years ago—perhaps things have been changed in the interval) to the necessity of writing their speeches out at length, and reading them deliberately from the tribune, and the member who possessed the talent of extempore debate stood almost alone. To this extreme, the practice of speaking from notes has, we presume, scarce ever been carried in the American Congress.

To the different style of speaking in this point, the accommodations of the members of Congress and of Parliament are respectively adapted. The House of Commons is small, about sixty feet by forty; and furnished with benches (disposed like those usually seen in lecture rooms where no notes are expected to be taken), on which the members are very closely crowded together. The hall of the House of Representatives contains three hundred thousand cubic feet; twice as many as Fanueil Hall in Boston; and each member is furnished with a luxurious accommodation for sitting and writing. As far as the speaking is concerned, this naturally leads to a habit of minute, discursive, prolix note-taking, an equalization of unimportant and important points (because a member replies not to the great heads of the opposing argument, which have imprinted themselves on his memory, but to every little proposition, of which he has made a note), and finally to an equalization of good and bad speakers. Other evils are incident to the mode in which the two houses are furnished, which operate perniciously on the character of our legislation, as well as on the aspect of our legislature. It is now, we believe, generally admitted, that the House of Representatives, at least, convenes in a splendid hall, in which it is difficult to see, speak, or hear, and which is consequently destitute of the three first and most important properties of a hall of legislation. Scarcely a session passes without the waste of some time and money on ineffectual attempts at a remedy. The evil will, we trust, be so practically felt at length, that the necessity will be acknowledged of providing a place of meeting, which if less adapted for the conveniences of writing, reading, and promiscuous lounging, will be better fitted for the purposes of hearing, seeing, speaking, and the despatch of business. Strange as it may at first appear, the evil of excessive speaking is encouraged and increased by the difficulty of being heard in the hall. This difficulty furnishes a salvo to vanity, which might otherwise be wounded. Members may ascribe, and often

justly, the coldness with which they are heard to the difficulty of hearing. Hence the inattention of the audience is no proof of the indifference of the speech; and by an easy inference of self love, men are able to persuade themselves, that listless spectators and empty benches are no good reasons for abstaining from debate. The vast space to be filled also tempts to vociferation, to exaggerated gesture, to weary repetition, and a sort of desperate effort, on the the part of members, to produce by length, that effect which they cannot aim at in a shorter discourse, of which every sentence would tell.

But although these and some other considerations, of the like general nature, may partly account for the style of speaking which prevails in our Congress, we believe it is in a great degree to be ascribed to the manner in which the speeches are reported. We understand, that in London a large number of reporters are employed in the service of each of the prominent political journals. These reporters accordingly relieve each other, in the task of taking notes of the debate. No one is occupied beyond a reasonable time in the house; each is allowed reasonable time to write out his notes; and in this way, the successive portions of a long debate are immediately transferred to the press. This is not done in the columns of one paper alone, but in those of three or four, and generally speaking, on an average, equally well in each; so that in those parts, where one report happens to be erroneous or defective, some one of the others is likely to be full and correct. In this way, a complete report of a debate is sent out to the public and to the world, the morning after the debate takes place.

A system of reporting essentially different prevails in our Congress. The English method, it needs not be said, is very expensive, requiring probably the service of five or six able reporters, for each house of Parliament. In fact, we have seen it stated, that as many as one hundred persons, of literary qualifications, are in the regular employment of some of the principal English journals. So large a number could scarcely be required, but for the manner in which the reporting service is attended. It has been found at Washington, that the circulation of a political journal is wholly inadequate to the support of such a host of reporters. One or two in each house, we believe, are the most that are statedly employed for any journal. It is scarcely possible, under these circumstances, that a report should be prepared for the next morning's paper, in any

considerable degree complete; although, on certain rare occasions, and by extraordinary effort, full reports in the National Intelligencer have been made to follow the debates, *pari passu*.

While it is only by extraordinary labor, on particular occasions, that this can possibly be done, the necessity of doing it, is, for various reasons, less urgent here than in England. As we have already stated, the public to be addressed is concentrated in London, and it behoves the statesman and politician to lose no time in coming before that public, with a correct report of his sentiments. If this be not done, not only does he suffer by the imperfect representations which would get abroad; but in the vast pressure of business, where subject crowds on subject like wave on wave of a rushing tide, unless the speech appear while the matter of it is fresh, it will secure no attention. In this country, the public to be affected is more or less distant, is scattered in portions remote from each other, and the march of affairs is as yet less urgent. It is of no great moment, in reference to the main objects of the maker or the reader of a speech, whether it appear to day, tomorrow, or a month hence.

This state of things, of course, fits itself to the manner, in which, as we have observed, the reporting service is furnished. There is no pressure for a contemporaneous report; there is time enough; and the member, anxious to appear in his best dress, to correct, perhaps, his inadvertencies, and take advantage of his after thoughts, undertakes to furnish his own report, or, in other words, writes his speech out for the press. If, like Galba, his *forte* lie not so much in writing as in speaking, he may, as Galba did, get a friend to write it for him. Hence, by a process exceedingly different from that of actually making a handsome speech in his place, it is possible for any member to appear in the report, as the maker of a handsome speech. The consequence may naturally be supposed to be, that some members speak, who would not otherwise do it. If the effect produced at the moment, on the house, were the only effect to be looked forward to, and the speech delivered today were followed up tomorrow by a report far inferior (as the best unrevised report must be) to the speech itself, which is thus

‘Unhousel’d, disappointed, unanel’d,
No reckoning made, but sent to its account
With all its imperfections on its head,’

it is probable, that some persons now moved to speak, would refrain.

This will appear still more probable, when we consider, that, on the English footing, the business of reporting is exclusively the affair of the proprietor of the newspaper, consulting the taste or the judgment of his readers. For this reason, he exercises a discretion in abridging and curtailing. Those speeches, which he thinks the public will wish to read, he gives at length. The speeches of those members whom he wishes to favor or to expose, he will present in such dimensions as best to answer his object. It is not to be understood, by any means, that all which is said by every member of Parliament, nor even that the substance of what is said by every member, without exception, is reported in the London journals. Still less would such be the case, were the number of speakers as great, and the speeches as long, as in the American Congress. The habitual inattention of the reporters to everything which they are pleased not to consider as important, naturally has the effect of preventing those, from taking part in the debate, who have reason to think that justice would not be done them in the report. The case is wholly different in the American Congress. No such invidious discrimination has ever, that we know, been attempted. Mutually dependent on each other, as speakers and reporters to a certain degree must be, in the present manner of reporting, we presume that the speeches of every member of Congress are given at equal length and with equal fidelity, or may be, at the option of the speaker. This, of course, tends to encourage debate, in the same degree, and for the same reason, that the opposite practice in England tends to discourage it. Every member is sure that he will enjoy as good an opportunity as every other, of having what he may say presented in the most advantageous form to the public.

It would be easy to enlarge on these points, but we fear we have already approached the proper limits of such a discussion. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that we by no means intend, in all respects, to give the preference to the English manner of debating and reporting. It is true, the immediate result of the English system may be entitled to preference. The American public would perhaps prefer, without qualification, that the quantity of speaking, and the amplitude of reporting, should be reduced among us; and might look upon the English plan as a good model in this respect. But if our preceding remarks are

just, these good effects, in parliamentary oratory, are closely connected with great political abuses, which would not here be tolerated. On the other hand, some of the evils which have been pointed out in our style of congressional speaking and reporting, are incident to our free institutions, to the happy equality of personal right and consideration which prevails, and to the salutary dependence of the representative on his constituents.

A part of the evil complained of is the effect of other causes, which will be removed by time. When our population becomes much greater than it now is, particularly when the seat of government shall be a populous city, it may safely be calculated that the number of journals containing regular reports will increase; that competition will arise between them, and an extended circulation enable their proprietors to bear the burden of a more expensive system of reporting. We ought, meantime, to ask, that no part of our remarks may be considered as reflecting on the liberality, intelligence, or skill of those, by whom the public is at present, or for some time past has been, furnished with the reports of the debates in Congress. They are not responsible for the imperfections which arise from the state of the country, or the nature of our political institutions; and justly enjoy the credit of great ability and impartiality. We are quite sure they would be the first to welcome the means and opportunity of introducing an improved system.

After all, in some points, in which the American debating has been censured in comparison with the British, we ought not to overstate the facts. We are inclined, for instance, on the score of proxity, at least, to believe, that it is not exclusively an American sin. It is stated by Prior, in his *Life of Burke*, that the speeches of Burke, Pitt, and Fox, on main questions, were generally three hours long. Some of those of Burke, if spoken as much at length as now found in his works, could not have been delivered in much less than double that time. Nor are the speeches of the present day, in the British Parliament, of smaller dimensions. We have been informed, by a person practically acquainted with the subject, that a speech which occupies one page of a London newspaper in the report, must generally have consumed three hours in the delivery. Such of our readers as have had occasion habitually to examine the English journals will, we think, agree with us, that, on this basis

of calculation, two or three speeches of three hours each are made in every important debate in each house, particularly in the House of Commons. The majority of what are called set speeches in Congress fall within these limits.

While we are on this topic, we may observe that we believe some error also prevails as to the length of the speeches of the great orators of antiquity. It has been remarked by a judicious contemporary writer, that the longest of Demosthenes' speeches may be read in fifty minutes, and the most diffuse of Cicero's in an hour. We believe, however, that it would be found impossible to read the oration for the Crown in three hours, although the testimony and documents, referred to by the orator, are nearly all omitted in the text of the oration. The oration against Midias is longer than that for the Crown, and that *De Falsâ Legatione* could not be read through in less than five hours.

The orations of Cicero appear to have been shorter than those of Demosthenes. Those which are known to have been spoken do not perhaps exceed, on an average, an hour and a half in length. That, however, for Publius Sextus, we think, would consume more than twice that time. The first Verrine, the only one delivered, is comparatively short. The remainder of the series against Verres, none of which according to Asconius was spoken, range from four to six hours. The oration *Pro Domo Suâ*, which is supposed to have been spoken, must have occupied nearly two hours and a half in the delivery. In the year of Rome 702, the famous law *De Ambitu* was promulgated by Pompey. This law required the pleadings in criminal causes to be finished in one day, allowing two hours only to the prosecutor and three to the accused. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 94) alludes to the labor, which this rapid succession of causes imposed upon him; and the author of the 'Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence' dates its corruption from the passage of this law, by which, in his opinion, the freedom of speech was hampered and restrained.*

We trust the foregoing observations will not be deemed wholly inappropriate to a short notice of the speeches of Mr Clay, contained in the volume before us, which are entitled to our attention as the production of one of the most eminent of American orators. In the remarks which we make upon

* De Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ, c. 38.

them, we shall endeavor to bear in mind the reserve with which it is proper in all cases to speak of living personages, and the moderation with which both praise and censure ought to be awarded, by a candid critic, to those individuals who, being engaged as leaders in political affairs, are likely to be excessively commended on the one hand, and as extravagantly undervalued on the other.

Mr Clay belongs to the class of men, numerous in all free countries, and in no country so numerous as in ours,—the architects of their own fortunes, men who, without early advantages, rise to eminence by the force of talent and industry. The eloquence of such a man will partake of the merits and of the defects, which are naturally incident to a want of the best opportunities in youth, and to practice commenced and continued, not in the retreats of academic leisure, but at the bar and in the senate. The great orators of Greece and Rome learned their profession of actors, sophists, rhetoricians, and philosophers; shut themselves up in caves for solitary exercise; made voyages that they might get access to the best teachers; practised before looking-glasses, and trained their voices by declamation. These arts or means are unknown to the ardent young American, who is launched on the stormy ocean of life, with no other inheritance, than that of ‘infancy, ignorance, and indigence.’ As he advances to manhood, he will gradually form his own manner. It will commonly be earnest but inartificial; its alternate strains of argument and passion will succeed each other rather by accident, than in the order prescribed by systems of rhetoric. There will be fulness of matter, without exhaustion, perhaps without the most skilful disposition of topics; and vigor and impressiveness of style, connected with occasional inaccuracies of language.

Such, in general, is the character of these speeches. In connexion with some of the remarks, which we have made above, on the manner of reporting which prevails in this country, we ought not to omit to state, that the speeches contained in the volume before us are understood to be given, without subsequent revision, as they appeared originally in the *National Intelligencer*, from the pen of the reporter. Few orators in any country have ever been more negligent of fame than Mr Clay. Not one half of his speeches, we believe, have ever appeared in any form of report, and those reported have almost without exception been left by him to the unrevised prepara-

tion of the reporter. No person who has had occasion to make such a course a matter of experience, will refuse to admit, that it puts the reputation of the speaker to the greatest test.

In casting the eye over the list of the speeches contained in the volume, we find them to comprehend a wide and varied range of topics. They are on the subject of manufactures, on the line of the Perdido, on the charter of the Bank of the United States, on the augmentation of the military force of the country, on the increase of the navy, on the new army bill, on the emancipation of South America, on internal improvement, on the Seminole war, on a mission to South America, on the tariff, on the Spanish treaty, another speech on the mission to South America, on internal improvement, and on American industry. The reader will perceive, in this catalogue, the greatest questions in our internal policy, in our foreign relations, and in our recent history. On perusing Mr Clay's speeches on any or all of these subjects, and comparing them with those of his contemporaries in Congress, on the same or kindred topics, we presume it will be cheerfully admitted, on all hands, that he ranks second to none in the originality, power, and versatility of his intellect. In those physical qualities by which the ability and reputation of the orator are graduated, and in that general reputation of a parliamentary speaker, which is built on political standing, on intellectual talent, and external gifts, Mr Clay would probably, by a large majority of the American people, be allowed to have stood first on the roll of the eminent men, who were associated with him in Congress.

We are not sure that such would be the opinion of those who should estimate his character as a parliamentary speaker, solely from the perusal of the speeches contained in the volume before us. In point of literary execution and rhetorical finish, they are not to be considered as models. They should be regarded in justice, as what they purport to be, reports of speeches, for the most part unrevised by the author. Compared with other speeches appearing under the same circumstances, they appear to the first advantage. They ought not to be contrasted with that class of productions of ancient or modern orators, which owe their exquisite finish, their well compacted order, their faultless correctness, and harmonious proportions, not to the inspiration of the forum and the senatehouse, but to the leisure of the closet. It is recorded by Plutarch both of Pericles and of Demosthenes, that they

ever refused to speak except on premeditation, even though the assembly loudly called on them, by name, to defend their own measures; and we find by the 'Life of Sheridan,' that his *impromptus*, both of wit and passion, passed through several editions in his study, before they were uttered in Parliament, and that he even marked down beforehand the places for 'Good God, Mr Speaker.' Of this kind of preparation the orations of Mr Clay exhibit no trace. We are quite sure, that not one of them was written before it was delivered, and we perceive in the greater part of them no marks of subsequent revision.

It is a necessary consequence of this, that they contain few single passages likely to be quoted as prominent specimens of oratorical declamation. It deserves remark, that in the orations of the greatest orators of the modern world, those passages which are selected as specimens of style, as extracts for declamation, are evidently such as received either before or after delivery the benefit of the *limæ labor et mora*, and which consequently evince not so much the talent of the speaker as the skill of the writer. We suppose no one will think that the apostrophe to filial piety dropped unwritten from the lips of Sheridan. The inimitable passages on the attachment of the colonies to the mother country, in Burke's speech on Conciliation with America, and the terrific description of Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic, must with equal certainty have been written. Of such passages as Curran's on universal emancipation, we are informed, that they were written beforehand, in the style of the ancient rhetorical exercises on the topics, to be used when they might happen to be wanted. Of eloquence of this kind (and some may think it the highest kind, because it gives to some brilliant idea, struck out in a happy moment of inspiration, all the advantage of judgment and meditation, in clothing it in words) the speeches of Mr Clay contain no specimens. In this respect, however, they resemble the printed speeches of the first orators of the age. The man who should read the collected volumes of the speeches of Mr Fox and Mr Pitt, with a view to the selection of the brilliant flights of oratory, would close his task in disappointment. The disappointment, we think, would be more complete in the case of Fox than in that of Pitt, although Fox is allowed to have had the finer genius. The excellence of both, as parliamentary speakers, lay in an unsurprised readiness to grapple with any subject, and in the

full flow of thought, with which any subject was taken up and pursued ; added, in Pitt, to the effect of a lofty display of conscious political power, and in Fox to an ever burning zeal and intensity of feeling. Of this school is the parliamentary eloquence of Mr Clay. It is that of the debater, of the politician, the prominent leader of a powerful party, or the hearty champion of some great and favorite cause.

Before and during the war of 1812, Mr Clay was among the most conspicuous of the acknowledged leaders in Congress. On his first entrance into the House of Representatives, he was elected to the chair of that body, which, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, possessed the efficient power of the government. Several of the speeches in the volume before us date from that period, and may be considered as among those, which gave the tone to the legislation of the day. After the close of the war by the treaty of Ghent, in the negotiation of which he bore an honorable part, Mr Clay took up with great ardor the cause of South American independence. This was a cause wholly unconnected with the questions which had formerly divided the country ; it was in itself, in its political principles, and in its considerations of expediency, a matter of speculation. To Mr Clay belongs the credit of having first called the attention of Congress and the people to this great subject ; and of having contributed an earlier and a greater share, than any other person, to the weight of argument and the power of persuasion, by which the public sentiment on the subject was eventually fixed. In the untried circumstances of the case, the administration of Mr Monroe held itself, for some time, uncommitted, and limited its policy to measures of inquiry and observation. This gave to the efforts of Mr Clay, to obtain an immediate recognition of the independence of the new republics, the form of an opposition to the administration of Mr Monroe. His speeches on this subject, not all of which have been reported, are among the most powerful and brilliant productions of his mind, and passages of them were read with enthusiasm at the head of the South American armies. Another class of subjects, with respect to which Mr Clay has borne a part not less conspicuous, is that of internal improvement and domestic manufactures. Domestic manufactures form the subject of the first and of the last of his speeches in Congress, contained in this volume ; and the latter speech wears the appearance of more careful prepara-

tion than any other which the book contains. The first of these is of the class of great constitutional questions ; and in the different speeches of Mr Clay on the subject, the entire strength of the argument in favor of the constitutional power of the general government to make internal improvements will be found to be comprised.

Neither do the limits of our article admit, nor does the nature of the work under review require of us, an analysis of the several speeches which compose the volume, with extracts by way of specimen. Although it may happen, that the whole of some one speech may afford of itself a satisfactory specimen of an orator's mind and manner, such a specimen can scarcely be found in an insulated fragment, taken out of the context. Our foregoing remarks will sufficiently communicate our judgment of the quality of Mr Clay's eloquence, with which the student of American history, the politician, and the patriot will make himself acquainted by the perusal of the volume.

An interesting biographical notice of Mr Clay is prefixed to this collection of his speeches. It will enable the reader to trace his rapid ascent from poverty and obscurity, to elevated standing, wide spread fame, and some of the most honorable and arduous offices in the community. Although for this success in life he is, of course, indebted to those qualities of mind and character, which are the basis of advancement under institutions like ours, yet the immediate source of his popularity has been his eminence as a public speaker. His example accordingly is another illustration of the tendency of our free system to encourage the cultivation of the liberal arts, among the first of which the art of public speaking has in all ages been allowed to rank, and has sometimes even been placed at the head of the list. And most assuredly not even in ancient Rome, were stronger motives proposed to encourage the effort to excel in this art. The representative system is peculiarly adapted to bring the talent of public speaking into exercise, at every stage of its operation. The primary unofficial meetings of the citizens, in the municipal assemblies (those miniature republics, whose organization lies at the basis of our well ordered commonwealths), our state legislatures, and lastly the councils of the nation, are so many tribunals where the people, as sovereign, seem to sit in audience to hear and judge of the reasons of what is proposed in the public service. In this view of the importance of public speaking in

our political and social system, it is matter of astonishment, that it has not yet found its place, its proper place, in our establishments for education. We are aware, that in some parts of the country, more attention has been paid to it than in others; and recently in our own neighborhood more than formerly. But it seems plain, that the space assigned to discipline in the art of speaking, in the most improved plans of education known in this country, is far beneath its importance. The objects to be promoted, and the duties to be performed by the public speaker, in this country, are as important as they were in ancient Rome. Let us see what pains were thought due by a Roman statesman and orator to the acquisition of the art. The following we translate from Cicero's treatise *De Claris Oratoribus*.*

'The other chief orators of the day,' says Cicero, 'being then in the magistracy, were almost daily heard by me in their public discourses. Curio was then tribune of the people, but never spoke, having once been deserted by his audience in a mass. Quintus Metellus Celer, though not an orator, was not wholly unable to speak; Varius, Carbo, and Pomponius were eloquent, and they were continually upon the rostrum. Caius Julius, also, the curule ædile, almost daily made a set speech. My passion for listening received its first disappointment when Cotta was banished; but in diligent attendance on the other orators, I not only devoted a part of each day to reading, writing, and discussing; but extended my studies beyond the exercises of oratory, to philosophy and the law. In the following year, Varius was banished under his own law. In the study of the civil law I employed myself under Scævola, who, although he did not formally receive pupils, was willing to admit those who desired it, to be present while he gave legal opinions to his clients. The next year, Sylla and Pompey were consuls, and I formed an intimate acquaintance with the whole art of public speaking, in listening to the daily harangues of the tribune Sulpicius. At the same time, Philo, the head of the academy, having, with the rest of the aristocracy of Athens fled to Rome in the Mithridatic war, I gave myself wholly up to him and the study of philosophy, not merely from the delight I felt in the variety and magnitude of the subject, but because the career of judicial eloquence seemed for ever shut up. Sulpicius had fallen that year, and in the next, three other orators were most cruelly slain; Catulus, Antony, and Julius. The same year, I employed myself under the direction of Molo the Rhodian, a consummate pleader and teacher. I mention these things, Brutus, although somewhat aside from our purpose, that

* Cap. 89—91.

you might, as you desired, become acquainted with my course, and perceive the manner in which I followed in the steps of Hortensius. For three years, the city had respite from war, but the orators were deceased, retired, or banished; even Crassus and the two Lentuli were absent. Hortensius then took the lead as counsel; Antistius daily rose in reputation; Piso spoke often, Pomponius less frequently, Carbo rarely, Philippus once or twice. All this time, I was occupied day and night, in every kind of study. I studied with the stoic Diodotus, who, after having long lived with me, lately died at my house. By him I was trained, among other things, in logic, itself a kind of close and compendious eloquence, without which even you, Brutus, have admitted, that the true eloquence, which is but expanded logic, cannot be acquired. With this teacher, in his numerous and various branches, I was so assiduous, that I did not miss a day in oratorical exercises. I had also a declamatory discussion (to use the present phrase) with Piso often, and with Quintus Pompey or some one else every day. This was frequently in Latin, but oftener in Greek; both because the Greek language, in itself more adapted to ornament, tended to form the habit of an elegant Latin manner, and because, unless I used the Greek language, I could neither receive instruction nor correction from eminent Greek teachers. Meantime followed the tumults for the restoration of the republic; the cruel deaths of the three orators, Scævola, Carbo, and Antistius; the return of Cotta, Curio, Crassus, the Lentuli, and Pompey; the establishment of the laws and the tribunals; in a word, the restoration of the Commonwealth. Of the orators, however, Pomponius, Censorinus, and Murena, perished. I then, for the first time, undertook the pleading both of public and private causes; not, as is commonly done, learning my profession in the practice of it, but, as far as I had been able to effect it, entering the forum with my profession learned. At the same time, I studied under Molo, who had come to Rome, in Sylla's dictatorship, on business of the Rhodians. My first public cause, therefore, the defence of Sextus Roscius, was so commended, that there was none which I was not thought competent to undertake. Many causes were now put into my hands, which I brought into court, not merely diligently, but laboriously prepared.

'And now, since you seem to wish to learn my history thoroughly, I will mention some things, which might otherwise seem unimportant. At this period, I labored under extreme emaciation and weakness of body; my neck was long and slender, and my whole frame and constitution such as are usually thought to render the violent exercise of the lungs fatal. This circumstance was matter of the greater anxiety to my friends, because I was in the habit of speaking everything on a high key, without variety, with the

utmost power of voice and exertion of my body. When, therefore, my friends and physicians advised me to abandon pleading, I determined to encounter any danger, rather than give up the renown, which I hoped to acquire as an orator. Having, however, come to the conclusion, that by reducing and managing the voice, and changing my mode of speaking, I could escape the impending danger, I determined, for the sake of altering my manner, to visit Asia. Accordingly, after having been two years in the practice of my profession, and acquired a standing in the forum, I left Rome. When I came to Athens, I devoted myself six months, under Antiochus, a most noble and prudent sage of the old academy, to the study of philosophy, a study which I had early cultivated, had never lost sight of, and now renewed under this admirable teacher. At the same time, however, I practised speaking diligently, under Demetrius the Syrian, an experienced and respectable teacher of the art. I afterwards made the tour of Asia, with orators of the first celebrity, under whom, with their full assent, I regularly exercised myself in speaking. The chief of these was Menippus of Stratonice, in my opinion the most eloquent Asiatic orator of his time, and, if to be free from everything offensive or impertinent be the test of Atticism, not unworthy to be reckoned among Attic orators. I was, also constantly with Dionysius of Magnesia, Æschylus of Cnidus, and Xenocles of Adramyttium; the principal rhetoricians at that time in Asia. Not satisfied with these, I repaired to Rhodes, and applied myself to Molo, who had instructed me at Rome, who was not only a pleader himself in real causes, and an eminent writer, but most discreet in remarking and correcting faults as an instructor. He exerted himself, as far as possible, to reduce my manner, redundant as it was, and overflowing with juvenile license and excess; and sought to bring it within proper limits. After spending two years in this way, I returned, not merely trained, but altered. The extreme effort of my voice in speaking was reduced, my style had become temperate, my lungs strong, and my general health tolerable.”

Such was the professional education of a man who was fitting himself, not for the chair of oratory in a place of education, but for the storm and bustle of active life, at the most convulsed period of the Roman Commonwealth. Not unlikely it was the course pursued by the majority of the young men at that time, who were destined to the career of law and politics. In many essential features, our political institutions resemble the Roman; at least so far as the importance of the province of the public speaker is concerned. It deserves consideration, whether the method of liberal education, so called, which prevails among us, rather by tradition than designed adoption,

be as well calculated as could be wished, to fit our young men for the duties of life ; whether the greatest portion of their time is devoted to the attainments practically most important ; and, particularly, whether the art of communication, in its two great branches of writing and speaking, and especially the latter, ought not to be raised from its comparative neglect to the first place among the studies preparatory to active life.

ART. IX.—*The True English Grammar ; being an Attempt to form a Grammar of the English Language, not modelled upon those of the Latin, and Greek, and other Foreign Languages.* By WILLIAM B. FOWLE, Instructor of the Monitorial School, Boston. Munroe & Francis. 1827.

THE object of this manual is to rescue parents and teachers, by a summary process, from the whole tribe of grammars upon grammars, which, since the days of Lowth and Murray, have so fearfully accumulated upon them. Whether it be certainly the *True English Grammar*, which it claims to be, or not, its merits are not the less remarkable, in sweeping clean away the old cobwebs of the schools, and proving to a demonstration the English language, written and spoken as it now is, to be essentially pedantic and absurd, and quite unworthy of the tongues of the nineteenth century. But happily it has been discovered, that, ‘with a very moderate reform, our language is one of the freest and simplest in the world, and may be wholly disencumbered of grammatical difficulty.’ With the view, therefore, of releasing his mother tongue from scholastic fetters, and supplying one of the crying wants of the age, Mr Fowle proposes this system of rational grammar. It is his opinion, that ‘a learned man, that is, a Latin and Greek scholar, was not the proper person to make an English grammar, and that, of course, Dr Lowth was disqualified’ (p. 157) ; that, consequently, Murray, who took him for a pattern, was all in the wrong ; and that our fathers have been groping for ages in grammatical darkness !

The author’s objections to the old systems of grammar, are, that they needlessly embarrass the English, by forcing it into analogies with the Latin and Greek ; and he proposes to form

an English grammar, 'not modelled upon those of other foreign languages.' It will be observed, that whatever analogies with the Latin and Greek may have been adopted into the English, they *now* compose an integral part of the language, and are as good Anglicisms as any Anglo-Saxon derivations. The grammar, therefore, which rejects them, it must be distinctly remembered, is no grammar of the English, as it is now written and spoken.

As the public, generally, are unacquainted with the result of Mr Fowle's labors, it is our intention to lay before them the outlines of the reforms in his grammar, which takes the English language less as it is, than as it should be. English grammar is defined to be, 'Rules for writing and speaking the English language, founded on the peculiar structure and proper use of it.' (p. 5.) The business of orthography is committed to 'dictionaries and spelling-books,' and that of prosody to 'treatises on rhetoric.' Punctuation we find to be no part of the system; and from no mention of such things as commas, colons, and periods, we conclude, that they are out of place in a system of rational grammar. Under nouns, adjectives, and verbs, are comprehended the nine sorts of words, into which custom has hitherto so inconsiderately parcelled out the parts of speech.

First come nouns. After discarding the unmeaning distinction of names proper and common, it is declared, that nouns, generally, are 'either physical or metaphysical,' to the great edification of all little masters and misses. (p. 6.) *Person*, in an English noun, is proved to be a shadowy and mistaken refinement. (p. 160.) That of *cases* is nothing better. The nominative and objective are accordingly amalgamated. Inasmuch as they both are names of a thing, it is not thought fair, that the *nominative* alone should have the benefit of this circumstance in its title. Therefore, instead of nominative and objective, they are to be called for the future *agent* and *object*. (pp. 12, 161.) A fate still worse is reserved for the possessive case, which is stripped of its name, and cashiered to an adjective; thus, Mr Fowle resolves the apostrophic *s* into the word *add*, and 'father's house,' he reads '*father add house*.' Here he protests against supposing 'father's' to be a name, and declares it to be a good adjective, only serving to distinguish one house from another. (p. 162.)

Next, the dignity of the adjective is very considerably raised. This once modest part of speech is made to assert its dominion, first, over the indefinite article *a*, *an*, because derived from *one*;

then over the definite article, *the*, because, forsooth, a contraction of *this*, once spelled *thae*, now by an easy step *the*. (pp. 171, 158.) The pronouns, next in course, are the subjects of hopeful reform. We are entertained with the following dialogue, where *who*, *what*, *whom*, are successively brought to answer to a substantive understood, and made adjectives. Thus, '*Who did it?* who *what* did it? who *person* is the answer.' '*I gave it to whom?* whom *what*? whom *person*, the object.' (p. 18.) In like manner are claimed *this*, *these*, *those*, *it*, *that*, and, of course, all possessive cases of pronouns as well as nouns; in proof of which, is cited the following expression; '*this handle is this's*, but *that is that's*,' (p. 19.) which the author says is not uncommon. The personal pronouns are sunk into demonstrative adjectives; *I*, *thou*, *he*, &c. pointing out the agent, and *me*, *thee*, *him*, &c. the object, of what is done; thus '*We*, the author of this grammar, (and not those authors who differ from us);' '*He*, Murray, that Murray (who perplexes.)' (pp. 19, 21). And also, the genders of *he*, *she*, *it*, are proved to be interchangeable by an aptness of illustration peculiar to our ingenious author. Thus, '*My carpenter always says of his saw, she cuts well*; and the sailor, who never heard of rhetoric, says of the anchor, *he* holds, and of the ship, *she* brings up,' (p. 164.) which is an adherence, we are told, to '*ancient usage*,' and no rhetorical flourish; figures, we suppose, being unknown in the primitive simplicity of the language, until certain rhetoricians presumed to strew their flowers. Next in this triumphant procession of the adjective, are ranked expatriated nouns, particularly possessive cases; as may be seen in the similarity of office performed by the first words in such expressions as these, '*noisy streets*,' '*Boston streets*,' and last, not least, '*Boston's streets*,' which seems to have been stripped of its nounship by the magic of the verb *add*, and means, *Boston add streets*. (pp. 23, 162.) Another decree, not less summary, hurls the harmless family of adverbs from their ancient dominion, and constrains them to become good and true adjectives, by virtue of the word *like*. '*Heroes act bravely*,' that is, '*heroes act like brave actors*;' '*kings die humbly*,' that is, '*kings die like humble diers*;' '*hope cheers constantly*,' that is, '*hope cheers like constant cheerers*;' '*wealth comes slowly*,' that is, '*wealth comes like slow comers*.' (p. 25.) Lastly, it is resolved, that verbs shall furnish their quota, to swell the ranks of the adjective; preserving thereby, we suppose, the balance of power,

which, since conjunctions and prepositions have been proved to be real nouns and verbs in disguise, might possibly be disturbed. Thus, 'go-cart,' 'cling-stones,' 'cut-purse.' (p. 26).

The remaining grand division is *verbs*; and here we cannot forbear to congratulate all unlearned natives and foreigners, upon the prospect of the return of language to its simple elements. Mind, of whose march we hear so much, is certainly completing the circle, and approaching the point, from which it first set out. It was once supposed, that the progress of language was the result of our wants; but such notions are done away. Its perfection is no longer sought, where the multiplied necessities of life have given rise to corresponding varieties of expression, but in those simple dialects, in which one articulate sound is significant of a hundred different things. Hence the whole fashion of moods, tenses, numbers, and persons, are considered unnecessary; and they are charged upon grammarians, who, to accommodate classical 'usage,' have unreasonably thrust them into the mouths of the vulgar (p. 173), much in the same way as doctors pour physic down children's throats. Nevertheless the author graciously and somewhat inconsistently consents to retain *two* tenses, a *presnt* and a *past*; not that he has a whit the more faith in a past, than a future tense; for, originally, 'English verbs had but one termination' (p. 30), and no tenses to express time. Their business is to 'express what the nouns do,' (p. 29), and not the *when*. Of course it is impertinent in Father Time to meddle in the matter. But as Mr Fowle agrees, with a mental reservation, to retain, for form's sake, a past tense, he generously throws the name into the bargain. This may be very modest, but it is not quite so judicious, and is a needless embarrassment in the short cut to perfection. To be convinced of this, we have only to read the author's own words. '*Must* is the only verb in the English language, which, in spite of grammarians, has retained its primitive simplicity, having no variation on account of tense, number, and person, and yet there is nothing indefinite or obscure in its use.' (p. 69). Why then are other verbs to be deprived of this same inestimable 'simplicity'? When he has once commenced the good work of reform, upon what principle does he mince matters, and retain a past tense, which he can never regard with complacency? But instead of finishing his work, and removing every vestige of the old enormities of the schools, he not only perpetuates the evil by allowing *two*

tenses, but favors us at great length with a list of irregular verbs, which he proposes to *legitimize*, by throwing out their obnoxious deformities and taking the regular '*ed*.' Thus '*do, doed*,' '*come, comed*,' '*go, goed*.' (pp. 43—50.) These, according to his own principles, he ought to have brought to the standard of that perfect verb '*must*,' and retrenched all but one termination. But what is worse, he actually sides with the lovers of Latin and Greek analogies, and spreads perplexity, by adding *ed* to verbs, which so nearly approximated his standard of perfection, as to have until now the same termination to express all the relations of time. Thus *present*, '*beat*;' *past*, '*beat*;' he proposes '*beated*.' So '*cost, costed*,' '*cut, cutted*,' (p. 49); and why may we not add *must, musted*? This partial reform is undoubtedly a sorry defect. For we are to bear in mind, that, according to the *true analogy of the English language*, '*verbs had but one termination*' (p. 30); that all notions of '*time must be looked for in the context*' (p. 175); and further, that in a true English grammar '*any unnecessary departure from strict analogy, simplicity, or uniformity should be met and discountenanced*.' (p. 173). Now, after proclaiming from the housetop such magnanimous principles, and showing to a demonstration, that moods, tenses, numbers, and persons are a flagrant violation of the genius of our language, muffled under the venerable cloak of classical usage, how Mr Fowle, as '*a fearless philologist*,' can consent to deform this beautiful piece of radicalism by a salvo to any two tenses, we are at a loss to imagine!

But it is our business to take into the account only such reforms as we find, and not to murmur, that thus far they have gone, and no farther. We proceed, therefore, to the verb, or, as the author would say, '*the verbal name*,' *to be*, a fruitful source of perplexity to most grammarians. If he has been less successful than usual, in settling to his satisfaction the origin of this verb, yet the curious owe him many thanks for fixing the truth beyond the hope of escape, between his own conjectures and those of Dr Gilchrist. The Doctor calls in the aid of no fewer than four languages, the Anglo-Saxon, the French, the Greek, and the Latin, to determine this doubtful point. (p. 167). But for our part we prefer Mr Fowle's solution, as by far more easy and natural. He considers it necessary to split up five several verbs, of which '*to be* and its variations are the fragments,' (pp. 51, 166); a conclusion to

which he must doubtless have been helped, by the philosophers, who have determined that meteoric stones must have been *broken up*, and whirled through space by certain convulsions in the moon; or these *fragments* of verbs may have been suggested by that noted hypothesis, which creates and explodes an immense planet, on purpose to prove that the smaller planets are some of the pieces. In the next place, we are informed, that *to be* is an active verb, but that its action lies snugly coiled up, like the spring of a watch, within the 'individual that exerts it.' (p. 168). It is dexterously made out, that the sentence, 'John is a fool,' means 'John *plays* the fool.' After this, if we can in conscience ask for more proof, we are exultingly referred to the imperative mood. Thus, to take the example selected, 'let light be.' This throws us upon an alarming dilemma; no less a one than to acknowledge, either that 'light' never was created, or that 'be' is an active verb. 'Either nothing,' says Mr Fowle, 'was done in obedience to this command, or what was done is expressed by the word *be*.' (p. 167). Of course, if we must choose between the two horns of this dilemma, we prefer to be tossed by the latter. Therefore, *be* is an active verb, and in plain English, 'let light be,' means, 'let light *act*,' or 'let light *make itself*.' From which we conclude, that before its creation, light *was* and *was not*. This, it will be observed, settles the old dispute, whether matter be coeternal with mind. The next thing is to bestir that proverbially drowsy race, the neuter verbs. A state of *motion or rest* is a complete sinecure, and gives them nothing *to do*. By way of showing their activity, therefore, they are made to bestride themselves, in the same manner as children ride their cockhorses. Thus, '*I sleep easy*, is *I sleep myself easy*.' (p. 169).

We ought to have mentioned before the immense gain made by changing, in the perfect tense, the helping verb *have* into a principal; and the perfect participle into a verbal adjective. Thus, 'men have abused reason,' Mr Fowle reads, 'men have reason (how?) abused,' or 'men possess reason abused.' So, 'the boy has learned the lesson;' 'the boy has the lesson learned.' Here 'learned,' according to the 'True English Grammar,' 'expresses the condition of the lesson and not of the learner.' (p. 57). Consequently the benefit of the learning rightfully belongs to the lesson and not to the boy. In the same way, '*the boy has lost his book*,' must be read, '*the*

boy possesses his book lost. Of course the loss is not felt by the boy. So, *John has broken Jim's head*, must by the same exegesis mean only, *John possesses Jim's head broken.* Nothing more than possession can be proved upon John. It was hardly to be expected, after this specimen of elevating adjectives at the expense of the perfect participle, that verbs passive should remain unmolested. Accordingly, we are told, that the whole passive voice is unconstitutional, and 'built upon a misconception of the nature and use of the perfect participle.' The following is the exposition by which passive verbs are done away, and all grammatical *passion* and *suffering* proclaimed henceforth to be at an end. '*Penelope is loved*,' ('is' has been proved already to be an active verb, and means '*exists*'), '*Penelope exists (how?) loved.*' '*Loved* is an adjective and qualifies *Penelope*, and it is just as correct to say, the phrase, *Penelope is sick*, is a passive verb, as to call, *Penelope is loved*, one.' (p. 170).

With this moderate reform, the grand division of Nouns, Adjectives, and Verbs is perfected, and the English language rebuilt upon the freest, simplest, and most natural plan in the world. About two hundred particles only remain to be disposed of, which, by the ignorance and wilfulness of grammarians, have been erected into titular dignitaries, under the names of Adverbs, Conjunctions, Prepositions, and Interjections. It was once erroneously supposed, that they had no signification of their own, but served merely to show the relation of one thought to another; that in this they differed from other words, their office being to *cement* the several parts of the fabric of language together. But Horne Tooke has satisfactorily proved, that to contrive words on purpose to show the relation of our thoughts is a needless waste of invention, that the fabric of language stands self-supported without the cement of conjunctions and propositions; and that nouns, adjectives, and verbs are fully competent to express every action of the mind. The great work of restoring our language to its primitive simplicity, so fearlessly undertaken by our author, has thus been completely achieved, foreclosing all exercise of the talents, ingenuity, and courage of future reformers.

NOTE.

Captain Cleveland's Voyage from China to the Northwest Coast of America.

IN the article on Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, contained in our last number, is the following passage. 'While he was in Canton, in 1798 and 1799, a small vessel of about one hundred tons arrived in that port from the Northwest coast of America; it had been fitted out in Macao, and had been absent but five months. The captain was an Englishman. The cargo, consisting of furs, was sold for sixty thousand dollars.' Since the above article was printed, we have ascertained further particulars respecting this voyage, and find that the statement here given is not entirely correct. The captain was not an Englishman, as mentioned by Krusenstern, but the vessel was purchased and fitted out entirely on American account, and commanded by Captain Richard J. Cleveland, a native and citizen of the United States. The mistake probably arose from the circumstance, that the vessel was English built, was bought of an Englishman, and, after the voyage had been performed, was again sold to an Englishman. The size of the vessel, and the duration of the voyage, were also not the same as stated by Krusenstern. As this voyage was one of extraordinary character, both in its prosecution and results, and evinced a degree of enterprise, perseverance, and decision, rarely to be met with, and worthy of imitation, we are happy in having an opportunity to lay a short sketch of it before our readers, abridged from Captain Cleveland's original journal, which has been preserved.

The vessel was purchased of Captain William Lay, in December, 1798, by Captain Cleveland, and sailed (under the American flag) on that voyage the following month, under his command. It is believed to have been the first successful attempt of a foreign vessel in beating up the coast of China, so as to weather the north end of Formosa during the height of the northeast monsoon. The task was indeed an arduous one, and its accomplishment he was assured by several experienced navigators was impracticable. But the success of the voyage depended on his arriving on the coast of America before other vessels, which were known to have been despatched from Boston; and a failure in this attempt would not have been less ruinous than the delay, which waiting for the favorable monsoon would have caused. The small size of the vessel, being only about fifty tons, by enabling him to keep close in with the coast, encouraged the belief, that he would occasionally meet with a favorable current; and that, when by the

reverse he was losing ground, he might find anchorage. These expectations, combined with the importance attached to effecting the object, induced him to attempt beating up, for the most part within hail of an extensive and dangerous coast, not only without either himself or any one on board having any experience a long the coast, but without even a chart, that was any guide.

‘The hazardous voyage we were engaged in,’ says Captain Cleveland, ‘required that our numbers should be great, in proportion to the small size of the vessel, and it was not less important to our safety, that they should consist of Europeans or Americans. To procure such a crew at Wampoa was only to be done by taking the disorderly and discontented men, who had deserted from the European ships then lying there. With such a prospect before me, and with a complement of twentyone officers and men, I sailed from Anson’s Bay, the tenth of January, 1799. We usually worked up close along shore while the day lasted, and endeavored to find an anchorage at night; when we failed to do so, and were compelled to stand out to sea, we invariably found, on returning to the coast, that we were losers. Our progress, the first week, was such as to afford us much encouragement; nor did we find other than a clear navigation, till the nineteenth of the month, when, being in latitude $22^{\circ} 35'$, and going at the rate of about three knots, we ran upon a sunken ledge of rocks. The boat was immediately got out; when, on sounding, we found deep water astern; in which direction we were preparing to carry out an anchor, when, the tide having risen, the vessel slid off the rock, without having received any apparent injury. After hoisting in the boat, we stood off so far as to enable us to weather this shoal on the opposite tack. As we advanced to the north, the shallow water extended farther from the shore; and the coast was more strewn with shoals, which increased the difficulty of making a harbor, and often compelled us to stand out to sea during the night, when it was so rough, that, with all the sail we could carry, we often lost as much as we had gained the preceding twentyfour hours. This was particularly the case on the night of the twentysixth, when the wind increased so as to reduce us to our storm sails, and caused the vessel to be, for the most part, buried in water. In the morning, as we were approaching the coast, in hope of finding a shelter from the great sea, which had then risen; and when within about three leagues of it, we suddenly discovered a breaker; but, as we were going at a rapid rate, we were in the midst of the foam almost at the moment of this discovery. The vessel struck once, in the hollow of the sea, and was enveloped in the succeeding billow, but passed over without receiving any injury; her deck, at the same time, was covered with sand. By running four leagues to leeward, we succeeded in finding a harbor,

and anchored in a smooth, sandy bay, near a fleet of junks, which we found were bound north, and had put in to evade the storm.'

The gale having ceased on the twentieth, and the weather having become favorable, Captain Cleveland got under way, in company with thirtytwo sail of junks, by keeping company with which he hoped to derive the advantage of their experience, for working in the night tides. But the day following, the junks reached their destination, running into a deep bay, where there appeared to be a numerous fleet. As they were extremely earnest that he should not follow them, and no object was to be gained by doing it, he anchored by their recommendation under the lee of a small island, and near two Chinese junks, the captain of one of which came on board, and told him, that the fleet within were lying at Amoy; that the land, about three and a half leagues to windward, was the island of Kemoy; and that he must keep the lead going all the time, as there were numerous rocks and shoals in the intermediate space. As he could not procure a pilot, he had no other resource, than following the imperfectly conveyed directions of the Chinaman, and trusting to the lead and a good look out for safety. Early on the first of February, he resumed the task of turning to windward; and, although he had frequently only two fathoms of water, and did not always deepen it by standing off shore, he yet fortunately reached the anchorage under the lee of the island of Kemoy towards evening, after having passed a day of great anxiety and fatigue. The duty had now been so arduous, the prospect of its duration so uncertain, and the dangers so appalling, that the men, unceasingly exposed to wet and cold, became quite disheartened, and during the ensuing night entered into a combination to compel a return to Macao.

'This was manifested in the morning,' says the journal, 'by a general refusal to weigh the anchor when the order was given for that purpose. The determination was so unanimous, that I did not attempt to force them, otherwise than by declaring to them, that if they would not work they should not eat, and taking the necessary precaution to prevent their getting provisions. Having prepared ourselves in the cabin to resist the attempt, which we had reason to believe was projected, to take the vessel; and kept a vigilant watch with loaded arms for twentyfour hours; it then occurred to me, that if they would consent to be set on shore, they would soon be glad to be taken on board again. When therefore I made the proposition to them, they readily acceded to it; and they were immediately landed on the beach. The curiosity of the inhabitants to see them was such, and they were so incessantly surrounded by a great crowd, that their situation became extremely irksome and uncomfortable; added to which, they could obtain no other food than a scanty supply of rice. The next morning they made

their appearance, approaching us in a Chinese boat. When within hail, I cautioned them, on their peril, to come no nearer. They said, the Mandarin had sent them off, and they durst not return. With a cannon pointed towards the boat, I threatened them with destruction, if they attempted to advance. This so alarmed the Chinamen who were at the oars, that they hastened back. I then went to the beach, and calling one at a time into my boat, took their solemn promise of future good behavior. But there were two, whom I did not intend to take again; and when they were refused, four others chose to share their fate, in the expectation, that by combining, they should compel us to take them all on board again. Finding, next morning, that they would not separate, we recommenced our arduous and hazardous duty of beating to windward, leaving six men on the island of Kemoy and determined to prosecute the voyage, even with such diminished strength.'

After an additional ten days' labor, with occasionally anchoring, he at length got out of the influence of the northeast monsoon; and on the eleventh of February had the satisfaction of seeing the north end of Formosa, bearing south, distant ten leagues. Thus, after thirtyone days of great toil, exposure, and anxiety, they had accomplished that part of the passage, which had been represented as an impossibility. With moderate winds, varying between N. N. E. and N. W., they pursued their course easterly, and on the seventeenth passed between Lekeyo, and some small islands north of it, with a strong westerly gale. Their passage across the North Pacific proved clearly enough the misapplication of the term to that sea, as it was hardly possible for it to be less peaceful. The violence of the wind was such, that they could show but little sail; and the sea, in consequence, was so boisterous, that there were but few days, when they were not so enveloped by it, as repeatedly to have the fire extinguished in the caboose. The men who composed the watch on deck, never escaped a complete drenching, and had constant employment in carrying their clothes up the rigging to dry. Such exposure and privation, though not sufficient to injure the health of the crew, was so much greater than they had ever before experienced, that, not realizing that the other passages were not to be equally fatiguing, they formed the design (of which the captain had notice) of deserting as soon as they could, after their arrival. On the thirtieth of March, they descried Mount Edgcombe, and in the evening anchored at Norfolk Sound, in latitude $57^{\circ} 10'$ north. As it was of importance to their safety, that the natives should be kept in ignorance of their numbers, they had prepared and put up, before entering the sound, a barricado of hides, sewed together, which completely screened them from view. Several Indians came

to them the morning after their arrival, and before dark several hundreds had arrived, who encamped on the beach, near to which the vessel was anchored. Every precaution that prudence dictated was now adopted by the captain, not less against any surprise by the Indians, than to prevent the escape of his own men. They were cautioned therefore not to come off after dark, and made to understand, that any canoes which should be seen moving near the vessel in the night would be fired at. Captain Cleveland remained at this place six days, and, from his success in purchasing skins, had no doubt of his vessel being the first on the coast that season. He proceeded thence by a narrow passage, in an easterly direction, till he arrived in that extensive sound, which Vancouver has called Chatham's Straits. Arriving at the northern extremity of this inland navigation, on the sixth of May, in latitude $59^{\circ} 30'$, and having a strong wind from the southward, he made a harbor in a neighboring cove, and anchored within a cable's length of the shore.

'The wind blew so strong,' he observes, 'that only two canoes came to us this day; but they assured us we should have abundance on the morrow. Accordingly, in the morning they began to muster, and by ten o'clock there had arrived twentyfour canoes, many of them as long, and some longer, than my vessel, and containing, on a moderate calculation, from three hundred and seventy to four hundred people, armed with muskets, spears, and daggers; and apparently having very few skins. As it was obvious that trade was not their object, and as we were prevented by a calm from leaving them, I made every possible disposition to resist the attack, which there was no doubt was intended. During the day, they used every artifice to induce us to permit more than two canoes to come to us at a time, which was the number to which we had restricted them; and it was only by our pointing the cannon towards them, and threatening to fire, that they were deterred from advancing. The whole day was passed at our guns, with lighted matches, watching the motions of the canoes, and calling to them not to approach. At night they went ashore near us, made their fires, and remained quiet. The next morning early, having a breeze from the northward, and presuming we had purchased all the furs they had, we left them, notwithstanding their earnest entreaties to remain through the day, and their promise of bringing a great many skins. We had proceeded but a short distance, before we met two war canoes, each containing twenty-six men, well armed, who were hastening to share in the expected glory and spoil, and for whose arrival, the attack had probably been delayed.'

Pursuing a course to the southward till he reached that branch of the sound which runs in an easterly direction, he passed on-

ward, and round those islands, which are called by Vancouver, Admiralty, Macartney's, and Duke of York's Islands. He visited the several tribes, which inhabit their shores, and purchased all the furs they had. Having also nearly expended his articles of barter, he made preparations for leaving the coast, by getting a supply of wood and water. The following incident will be related in his own words.

'On the twentieth of May, while we were steering to the westward, with a view of executing this determination, and going at the rate of about two knots, unsuspecting of danger, the vessel suddenly struck a sunken ledge, and stopped. Perceiving she hung abaft the midships, and that there were three and a half fathoms under the bows; we immediately run all the guns forward, and carried out an anchor ahead; but the tide ebbed so rapidly, that our efforts to heave her off, were ineffectual; we therefore heeled her on the side, whence she would be less likely to roll over. At low water, the position of the vessel was such, as to afford but feeble expectation, that she could escape bilging. She hung by about four feet amidships; having slid about as much on the rock as the tide fell, and brought up with the end of the bowsprit against the bottom. Her keel formed an angle of fortyfive degrees with the water line; the after part of it being from fourteen to fifteen feet above the rock. This position, combined with a rank heel to starboard, rendered it impossible to stand on deck; we therefore put a number of loaded muskets in the boat, and prepared for such resistance from thence, in case of being attacked, as could be made by fifteen men crowded into a sixteen feet boat. Our situation was now one of the most painful anxiety; no less from the immediate prospect of losing our vessel, and the rich cargo we had collected with so much toil, than from the apprehension of being discovered in this defenceless state, by any one of the hostile tribes, by which we were surrounded. A canoe of the largest class, with thirty warriors well armed, had left us not more than half an hour before we struck, who were now prevented from seeing us by having passed round an island. Should the vessel bilge, there existed scarcely any other chance for the preservation of our lives, than the precarious one of falling in with some ship. That she would bilge, there was no reason to doubt, if the weather varied in any degree from that perfect calm which then existed. More than ten hours were passed in this agonizing state of suspense,—watching the horizon, to discover if any savages were approaching,—the heavens, if there were a cloud that might chance to ruffle the smooth surface of the water,—the vessel, whose occasional crackings seemed to be the seal of our destruction; and, when the tide began to flow, impatiently observing its apparently

sluggish advance,—and involuntarily consulting my watch, the hands of which seemed to have forgotten to perform their revolutions. At length, the water having flowed over the coamings of the hatches, which had been caulked down in anticipation of this event, without any indications of the vessel's lifting, I was deliberating on the propriety of cutting away the mast, when we perceived her to be rising. She soon after righted so much, that we could go on board; and at half past twelve in the night we had the indescribable pleasure of seeing her afloat again, without having received any other apparent injury, than the loss of a few sheets of copper. To the perfect calm, smooth water, and uncommon strength of the vessel, may be attributed our escape from this truly perilous situation. After having laid the vessel ashore, and repaired the damages, which extended only to the sheathing, we proceeded to the southern entrance of the straits.'

This entrance was passed on the thirtieth of May, and they were again open to the influences of the ocean, from which they had been sheltered since their arrival, at all times surrounded by lofty mountains, whose summits are most of the year covered with ice and snow. The day following Captain Cleveland anchored again at Norfolk Sound, whence he proceeded to Charlotte's Islands. Having here disposed of his remaining articles of barter, he on the twentyseventh of June departed from the coast, not less happy in the possession of a rich cargo, than in the reflection of having realized this object, without injury to the natives, or any other than the most friendly interchange of commodities with them. He arrived at Owhyhee on the seventeenth of July, under the lee of which he lay off and on till he had obtained an abundant supply of hogs, vegetables and fruit. He then continued his course for China, and arrived safely at Wampoa on the thirteenth of September, 1799, where he realized about *sixty thousand dollars* for an investment of *nine thousand*. Thus was accomplished, in about eight months, one of the most arduous, most successful, and, all things considered, most hazardous voyages of which any account has been given.

A REVIEW of Mr Chief Justice Marshall's 'History of the American Colonies' is necessarily deferred till our next Number. Besides a critical examination of the work here mentioned, the article contains a sketch of the life and public services of that eminent jurist. We omit, also, an article on Noyes's 'Amended Version of Job;' and another on the 'American Annual Register.'

We are sorry, moreover, to be obliged to reserve for our next Number an article on the condition and proceedings of the American Mission at the Sandwich Islands. A work has recently appeared in England, purporting to be an account of the voyage of the ship *Blonde* to the Sandwich Islands, under the command of Lord Byron. This work contains many errors and misrepresentations, particularly in regard to the American Missionaries, which it is the purpose of the article to point out. We would also call the attention of our readers to a letter inserted at the end of the Seventieth Number of the *Quarterly Review*, signed by *Boki*, a native chief, reflecting on the conduct of the Missionaries. That this letter is a forgery, we have no hesitation in expressing our unqualified belief, founded on evidence, which will be brought forward in the article abovementioned.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

A Treatise on the Nature and Effects of Heat, Light, Electricity, and Magnetism, as being only Different Developements of one Element. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown. 8vo. pp. 91.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Life of Joseph Alleine, author of "An Alarm to the Unconverted." By his Widow, Mrs. Theodosia Alleine. Philadelphia.

Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence. Vols. VII. VIII. IX. Philadelphia. R. W. Pomeroy. 8vo.

The Life of Philip, the Indian Chief. Salem. Whipple & Lawrence.

BOTANY.

An Introduction to Systematic and Physiological Botany. By Thomas Nuttall. 12mo. pp. 360. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown.

EDUCATION.

The Epitome of History, with Historical Charts. By J. E. Worcester. 12mo. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown.

Original Moral Tales, intended for Children and Young Persons. Vol. I. 18mo. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn.

A Key the Colburn's Algebra. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Letters on Christian Education. By a Mother. New York. 12mo. pp. 32.

Murray's Theory of the Moods and Tenses of English Verbs; illustrated by an Emblematical Chart. By R. G. Green. 8vo. pp. 16. Portland, Me.

Outlines of Practical Geography, consisting principally of Questions on the Maps. By Joseph Muensch, A. M., Principal of the Female Classical Seminary, Brookfield.

GEOGRAPHY.

The Tourist's Map of the State of New York, compiled from the latest Authorities. By William Williams. Utica.

This is a map for travellers, on a new plan, and of great utility to any person travelling in the state of New York. In addition to the common topographical outlines neatly drawn, it contains tables of distances, a register of stagecoaches, steamboats, and canal packet boats, and various items of statistical information useful to travellers, and all reduced within a small and convenient compass.

HISTORY.

The Early History and Present State of the Town of Quincy in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. By George Whitney. 8vo. pp. 64.

Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga. By Madame de Riedesel. Translated from the Original German. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 12mo.

This entertaining little volume we intended to examine more at large, than our limits have permitted for the present number. We shall recur to it hereafter. As a spirited description of some of the most important scenes of our revolutionary war, written by a person who narrates what came under her own observation, and in a style at once animated and perspicuous, it has more than common claims to the notice of American readers. Madame de Riedesel was the wife of General Riedesel, who commanded the Brunswick troops in the service of the British during the Revolution. She joined her husband in Canada the year after the commencement of the war, and she continued with him, sharing his various fortunes during the remainder of the contest. Her account of the events at Saratoga are touching, and given with apparent fidelity. While her husband was a prisoner she resided in Cambridge, and also in Charlottesville, Virginia. She was next with the British army in New York, and afterwards in Canada. The whole term of her residence in this country was about seven years.

The volume consists of a correspondence with her husband before she arrived, and a series of letters to her mother, written from America. It also contains a short memoir from the pen of General Riedesel on the surrender at Saratoga. The whole was originally written in German, and is now for the first time translated, although it has been for several years before the European public. A few extracts only were translated for Wilkinson's Memoirs. A well written preface by the translator is prefixed to the present volume, and in an Appendix are contained several letters, that passed between Washington, Riedesel, and Gates. The work is highly creditable to the translator, in regard both to the style in which he has executed his task, and to his own additions.

Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations. By David Cusick. Lewiston, N. Y.

The History of Dedham, from the Beginning of its Settlement in September, 1635, to May, 1827. By Erastus Worthington. Boston. 8vo. pp. 146.

Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. I. Providence. John Miller. 8vo. pp. 163.

Historical Scenes in the United States, or a Selection of Important Events in the History of the United States. Illustrated with Engravings. New Haven. Monson & Co.

LAW.

The New Rules of the Court of Errors of the State of New York, adopted the 16th Day of April, 1827. New York. Gould & Banks.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Chancery in the State of New York. By Samuel M. Hopkins. Vol. I.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States. January Term, 1827. By Henry Wheaton. Vol. XII.

Opinions pronounced by the Hon. Judge Story, in the Case of Ebenezer Tyler and others *vs.* Abraham Wilkinson and others, at the last June Term of the Circuit Court, for Rhode Island District.

The General Laws of Massachusetts, from January, 1822, to June 1827. Edited by Theron Metcalf, Esq. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

An Introductory Report to the Code of Prison Discipline, being Part of the System of Penal Law, prepared for the State of Louisiana. By Edward Livingston. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 78.

Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed by the General Court, June Session, 1827. Boston. Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo.

Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June Session, 1827. Boston. Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo.

The Charter of the City of Boston, and Ordinances made and established by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. Boston. True & Greene. 8vo.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

Philadelphia Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery. Edited by N. R. Smith, M. D. No. I. Philadelphia.

Medical Statistics, or a Comparative View of the Mortality in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, for a Series of Years. By Nathaniel Niles, jun. M. D. and John D. Russ, M. D. New York. Elam Bliss. 8vo.

Text Book of a Course of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic. Part Second. By James Jackson, M. D. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 8vo. pp. 227.

A Manual of Descriptive Anatomy of the Human Body, illustrated by two hundred and forty Lithographic Plates. By Jules Cloquet, M. D. Translated by John D. Godman, M. D. Boston. W. & J. Pendleton. 4to. 1827.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Summary Notice concerning Bible Societies in general, and those of France in particular. Translated by Jacob Porter. Northampton. 8vo. pp. 16.

Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society, Boston, June 1, 1827. Boston. T. R. Marvin, printer. 8vo. pp. 164.

The Merchants' Memorandum and Price Book. By Charles P. Forbes. Boston. John Marsh. 12mo.

An Introduction to the Mechanical Principles of Carpentry. By Benjamin Hale, Principal of the Gardiner Lyceum. Gardiner. P. Sheldon.

A Sketch of the Resources of the City of New York, with a View of its Municipal Government, Population, &c. New York.

An Account of Sundry Missions performed among the Senecas and Munsees, in a Series of Letters. By Timothy Alden. New York. J. Seymour. 1827.

A Review of the Rev. Dr. Bond's Appeal to the Methodists. By the Rev. Asa Shinn, of the Pittsburg Conference. Baltimore.

The Manuscript. Numbers 1 and 2. New York. G. C. Morgan.

A Directory for the Village of Rochester, to which is added a Sketch of the History of the Village, from 1812 to 1827, with a Map.

A Brief Sketch of the Occurrences on Board the Brig Crawford on her Voyage from Matanzas to New York, together with an Account of the Trial of the Three Spaniards for Murder and Piracy, committed on board said Brig. By a Member of the Bar.

Letters on the New Theatre, first published in the Recorder and Telegraph. Boston. 8vo. pp. 16.

Much Instruction from little Reading, or Extracts from some of the most approved Authors, Ancient and Modern. By a Friend to General Improvement. New York. Mahlon Day. 5 vols. 12mo.

Mr. Tuckerman's Third Quarterly Report, addressed to the American Unitarian Association. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 12mo. pp. 16.

Proceedings of a Convention of Medical Delegates, held at Northampton, Mass. June 20, 1827. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

A Friendly Letter to Parents and Heads of Families, particularly those residing in the Country Towns and Villages in America. Boston. pp. 19.

The American Shooter's Manual. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

The Self-Instructor, or the Tailor's Guide in the Art of Cutting. By Andrew Ellison. Boston. Ingraham & Hewes. 4to.

The American Annual Register. For 1825-6. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo.

A Narrative of the Capture, Detention, and Ransom of Charles Johnson, who was made Prisoner by the Indians on the River Ohio in the year 1790. New York. J. & J. Harper. 12mo. pp. 264.

The First Report of the American Home Missionary Society, May 9, 1827. With an Appendix containing an Address to the Christian Public, &c. New York. D. Fanshaw. 8vo. pp. 120.

A Report accompanied with sundry Letters on the Causes which contribute to the Production of Fine Sea Island Cotton, read before the Agricultural Society of St. John's Colleton, on the 14th of March 1827. By W. B. Seabrook. Charleston. A. E. Millar.

Two Letters addressed to the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, on the Means of Improving the Health of the Lower Country. By Dr Joseph Johnson. From the Carolina Journal of Medicine, Science, and Agriculture. Charleston.

An Appeal to the Public, by William Vans, against the Slanders circulated by Stephen Codman. Salem. Printed for William Vans. 12mo. pp. 116.

A Visit for a Week, or Hints on the Improvement of Time. New York. A. B. Holmes.

Considerations in Favor of the Construction of a Great State Road from Lake Erie to the Hudson River. By a Citizen of New York.

The Entertaining and Marvellous Repository, containing Biography, Tales, Essays, Poetry, &c. Boston.

The Confession of Jesse Strang, who was convicted of the Murder of John Whipple, on the 4th of August, 1827. Made to C. Pepper, Esq. Albany.

Illustrations of the Four First Degrees of Female Masonry, as practised in Europe. By a Lady. Boston. 12mo.

Dialogues between the Rev. Dr Andrew Fuller and a Regular Baptist.

The African Observer. Edited by Enoch Lewis. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Vol. I. Philadelphia. J. Ashmead, Printer.

Documents laid before a Meeting of the Stockholders of the Temascaltepec Mining Company of Baltimore, convened by Public Notice, August 24th 1827. Baltimore. Printed by Thomas Murphy. 8vo. pp. 33.

The American Penman. By Perkins and Rand. Philadelphia. B. H. Rand.

NATURAL HISTORY.

American Natural History. By John D. Godman, M. D. Vol. II. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, and Carey. 8vo.

NOVELS.

Emily Parker ; or Impulse not Principle. Intended for Young Persons. By the Author of 'Evenings in New England.' Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 18mo. pp. 63.

James Somers, the Pilgrim's Son. Designed for Youth. By a Lady of New Haven. New Haven. A. H. Maltby. 16mo. pp. 77.

Novels and Tales. By the Author of the 'Spy.' Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey. 10 vols. 12mo.

Hope Leslie, or Early Times in Massachusetts. By the Author of 'Redwood.' New York. White, Gallagher, & White. 2 vols. 12mo.

Self-Conquest, or the Sixteenth Birth Day ; a Tale for Youth. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 18mo. pp. 82.

Village Tales, or Recollections of By-Past Times. By Oliver Oakwood, Trenton, N. J. 12mo. pp. 252.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

An Address by the Hon. Thomas B. Reed of Mississippi to the Cadets at West Point, June 20, 1827. Delivered at the Request of the Board of Visitors, and published by a Resolution of the Board.

An Address on the Character and Objects of Science. Delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina. May 9, 1827. By Thomas S. Grimké. Charleston. A. E. Millar. 8vo. pp. 80.

The General Character, and Present and Future Prospects of the People of Ohio. An Address delivered during the term of the United States Circuit Court in Columbus, Ohio. December, 1826. By Caleb Atwater, Esq. Columbus. 8vo. pp. 21.

An Oration delivered before the Young Men of the Town of Providence, on the Fifty-First Anniversary of American Independence. By Albert G. Greene. Providence. Smith & Parmenter.

An Oration delivered July 4th, 1827, before the Republican Citizens of Milford. By the Rev. Adin Ballou.

An Oration on the Completion of the Clubfoot and Barlow's Creek Canal, and the 51st Anniversary of our Independence, delivered July 4th, 1827. By James W. Bryan, Esq. Newbern, N. C. Watson & Machen. 8vo.

An Oration pronounced before the two Literary Societies of Rutgers College, N. J. at their Anniversary, July 16, 1827. By William C. Brownlee, D. D.

An Address delivered in Haverhill, Massachusetts, before the Northern Association of the Second Masonic District, at the Festival of St. John the Baptist, June 25th A. L. 5827. By Gustavus F. Davis.

Oration delivered on the Fourth of July, A. D. 1827, at Newport, R. I. By Asher Robbins. Providence. Miller & Hammond. pp. 27.

An Oration delivered before the Young Men of Portland, July 4, 1827. By William Pitt Fessenden. Portland. James Adams jr. pp. 31.

A Discourse on Education, delivered in St. Anne's Church, Annapo-

lis, after the Commencement of St. John's College, February 22d, 1827. By Francis S. Key. Annapolis. 8vo. pp. 44.

An Address delivered at the opening of the Medical College in Charleston, S. C., on Monday the 13th of November, 1826. By Stephen Elliott, LL. D. Professor of Natural History. Charleston. pp. 23.

An Address delivered before the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, May 31, 1827. By Charles Sprague. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 8vo. pp. 30.

An Address delivered July 4th, 1827, before the Supreme Executive of the Commonwealth, City Council, and Inhabitants of the City of Boston. By William P. Mason, Esq. Boston.

An Address delivered before the South Carolina Society on the occasion of Opening their Male Academy, on the 2d of July, 1827. By William G. Head. Charleston.

An Oration delivered in Haverhill on the Fifty-First Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1827. By Nathan W. Hazen. Haverhill. 8vo. pp. 28.

An Address delivered before the Inhabitants of Stratford, July 4, 1827. By Edward Rutledge. New Haven. A. H. Maltby. 8vo. pp. 15.

An Oration delivered in Person Hall, Chapel Hill, on the 27th of June, 1827, the day previous to the Commencement, under the appointment of the Dialectic Society. By Archibald D. Murphy. Raleigh. S. Gales & Son. 8vo. pp. 18.

Bishop White's Address, delivered at the Commencement of the Episcopal Theological Seminary. 1827.

POETRY.

Poems. By the Author of 'Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse.' Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 12mo.

The Southern and Western Songster, being a chosen Collection of the most Fashionable Songs, many of which are original. Philadelphia.

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The Trial of Cain, the First Murderer. In Poetry. By Erastus Brown. Boston. 1827.

Tamerlane, and other Poems. By a Bostonian. Boston.

Arlan, or the Force of Feeling; a Poem. With other Poems. By T. Bynum, Jr. Columbia. Sweeny & Sims. 12mo. pp. 99.

POLITICS.

A Sketch of the Politics, Relations, and Statistics of the Western World, intended to demonstrate the Necessity of the Grand American Confederation and Alliance. Philadelphia. Robert H. Small. pp. 200. 8vo.

THEOLOGY.

Mental Discipline, or Hints on the Cultivation of Intellectual and Moral Habits, addressed particularly to Students in Theology and Young Preachers. By Henry F. Bwoder, M. A.

Infant Sprinkling not Baptism; a Letter addressed to the Rev. Daniel Baker of Washington City.

The Causes, Evils, and Remedy of Intemperance, a Sermon delivered in Fitchburg, Mass. at the Annual Fast, April 5, 1827. By Rufus A. Putnam. Boston. T. R. Marvin, Printer. 8vo. pp. 33.

A Review of the Rev. Dr. Channing's Discourse, preached at the Dedication of the second Congregational Unitarian Church, in the City of New York, December 7, 1826. By a Layman. Providence. H. H. Brown. 12mo. pp. 36.

The Essentials of Religion briefly considered in Ten Discourses. By the Rev. John Dickson, A. M., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Charleston College. Charleston.

A Sermon delivered on the Morning of the Lord's Day, July 1, 1827, at the Second Independent Church in Charleston, S. C. By Mellish I. Motte. Charleston.

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A Collection of Facts and Documents relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs in Groton, Mass., occasioned by the publication of the 'Result of an Ecclesiastical Council,' &c. Boston. Stephen Foster. pp. 44.

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The author complains in his preface of the great difficulties he encountered, in procuring materials for a Gazetteer of Georgia ; and it must be acknowledged that he has not succeeded in making a very copious or attractive work. There is no little merit, however, in so far conquering obstacles as to make a beginning, and future industry and research may enable him to do full justice to the subject. Few books are more useful for the mass of the people, than Gazetteers ; but to make such books in the best manner requires incessant labor and vigilance. The grow-

ing condition of all parts of the United States is such, that important changes are perpetually occurring, and these must be kept in view and noted by the author, who would give anything like completeness to a work of this description. By pursuing this course Mr Sherwood will doubtless much enlarge and improve a future edition.

In speaking of *education* in Georgia, he says, there are about 80 incorporated Academies in this state, 64 of which have been brought into operation. The average number of pupils in each is 47, making in the whole 3008. In the northern and southern sections of the state there are probably five common schools in each county, that is, in forty counties there are 200 schools, averaging 30 pupils each, amounting in all to 6000. In the middle section are 25 counties, and about seven schools in each, containing in all 5250 pupils. So that the total number of pupils in the Academies and schools is 14,258. In the college at Athens there are 100 students.

In an Appendix Mr Sherwood gives a list of what he calls *provincialisms* common in Georgia. The following are specimens. *Tote*, for carry, bear;—*raised*, for brought up, educated;—*smart chance*, for good deal, large company, great numbers;—*disremember*, for forget;—*done said it*, for has said it;—*done did it*, for has done it; *fauch*, for fetch;—*onct*, for once;—*scrouge*, for crowd;—*tight scrouging*, for difficult;—*get shut of*, for get rid of;—*mout*, for might;—*pertend up*, for better, more cheerful;—*wrench*, for rinse.

The author also subjoins a few instances of erroneous pronunciation; such as, *presbattery*, for presbytery;—*sarment*, for sermon;—*starrs*, for stairs;—*bar*, for bear;—*stare*, for star. And he might have added, *cheer*, for chair;—*bare*, for beer;—*far*, for fair;—and *fair*, for fear. We believe no one south of the Roanoke, who would avoid the charge of singularity, would venture to call Cape *Fear*, anything else than Cape *Fair*.

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HILLIARD & BROWN, Cambridge, Massachusetts, have in press, **The LIFE of JOHN LEDYARD, the AMERICAN TRAVELLER;** comprising SELECTIONS from his JOURNALS and CORRESPONDENCE.

BY JARED SPARKS.

A few particulars in the singular character of Ledyard are well known, and have been often cited as examples of extraordinary energy and decision of mind, and as evidences of uncommon love of adventure and ardor of pursuit. But no general account of his life has been written, nor indeed anything more than a very brief and imperfect sketch, which was drawn up in England by the secretary of the African Association. This was done a short time after his death, in the year 1790, as a tribute to his memory for having sacrificed his life in promoting the interests of that society. But the writer had scanty materials, and knew hardly anything of Ledyard's history, except during the three last years

of his life. The notices contained in Biographical Dictionaries, both in this country and England, are copied from this memoir, and are equally imperfect.

It is understood, that Mr Sparks has obtained from different branches of Ledyard's family, and from other sources, his manuscript journals, and many of his original letters, which afford materials for a more full and authentic biography. From these papers the volume now promised to the public has been prepared. The incidents of his life are extremely various, and many of them excite a strong interest by the enthusiasm, perseverance, and uncommon vigor of mind, which they indicate. He was born in Connecticut, and educated first at Hartford, and then at Dartmouth College, with a view of becoming qualified as a missionary among the Indians. He travelled into the country of the Six Nations, and afterward constructed a canoe with his own hands on the banks of the Connecticut River at Hanover, in which he descended alone to Hartford. The pursuits of a missionary, and the study of theology, not proving congenial to his temper, he embarked on a voyage to the Mediterranean and the West Indies. After returning home, he visited England, joined the British navy, obtained a post in Cook's last expedition, with which he continued more than four years, till it arrived again in England. He was in the skirmish in which Cook lost his life, at the Sandwich islands, and was near the great navigator when he fell. At the close of the American war he came back to this country, having been absent eight years, and was the first to propose a voyage to the Northwest coast. In concert with Robert Morris, he planned such a voyage, but after a year spent in an unsuccessful attempt to procure a vessel and fit it out, the project failed. With letters from Mr Morris and other gentlemen he hastened to Europe, intending there to make an effort to accomplish his wish. For this purpose he visited Spain and France, and more than two years passed away in negotiations with mercantile companies and individuals, but without success. He was intimate with Jefferson (at that time our minister in Paris), with Lafayette, and with Paul Jones, who encouraged and aided him.

After encountering numerous difficulties, and not succeeding in his project of a voyage to the Northwest coast, he formed the design of going by land from Paris to Bering's Straits, thence crossing to the American continent, and proceeding homeward over the Rocky Mountains, with a determination to explore those unknown regions. Through the intercession of the Russian minister and Baron Grimm, permission was granted by the empress of Russia for him to pass through her dominions. In London he was patronized by Sir Joseph Banks and other gentlemen of eminence. He went over to Hamburg, thence to Copenhagen, Stockholm, and around the Gulf of Bothnia in the midst of winter to St Petersburg. He arrived there when the empress was on her famous tour to the Crimea, but by the aid of Count Segur and Professor Pallas he obtained a passport from the proper minister and set off for Siberia. It was so late in the season before he reached the borders of Kamtschatka, that the governor of Yakutsk would not suffer him to proceed further till the opening of spring. Meantime the empress became suspicious of his designs, and sent two Russian soldiers after him, who brought him back in the winter to the confines of Poland, a distance of more than six thousand miles, where they left him in poverty and wretchedness. He found his way to London, and was again kindly received by Sir Joseph Banks and his other friends. The Association for Promoting Travels in Africa was just at that time instituted. Being defeated in all his attempts to explore his own country, Ledyard eagerly grasped at the proposal to engage under the auspices of this society. He spent a few days in Paris, and then proceeded to Marsailles, whence he sailed for Alexandria in Egypt. At Grand Cairo he had passed several weeks in gaining an acquaintance with the language and habits of the people, who travelled in the caravans, and had made an agreement to accompany one of these to the interior, when he was suddenly taken ill, and died in January, 1790, being the first victim in the cause of African discovery, to which so many have since become martyrs.

His Siberian Journal has been preserved entire, and several letters written from Russia to Mr Jefferson and other persons. His celebrated eulogy on women, so often repeated, and so beautifully versified by Mrs Barbauld, was written at Yatkutsk in Siberia. This journal, also, contains many curious remarks on the character and customs of the Tartars, as compared with the American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, whom he had before seen in various parts of the globe. His journals and letters while he was in France and Spain are hardly less curious, containing observations on men and things often original and always striking. His letters from Egypt to Mr Jefferson and the Secretary of the African Association are equally characteristic. His journal of Cook's voyage, though not a complete narrative, abounds in lively descriptions and pertinent remarks, and his account of Cook's death is drawn up with more vivacity and apparent truth, than any other that has been published. It is believed that the papers, taken together, are worthy of the effort that has been made to rescue them from oblivion, and that the delineation they will afford of the character of their author will not be unacceptable to such readers, as love to contemplate the workings of an ardent mind, engaged in noble pursuits, and encountering with fortitude the obstacles incident to great and hazardous enterprises.

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ERRATA.—Page 256, line 43, for 1794 read 1784.—Page 313, line 9, for *color* read *valor*.—Page 322, line 25, for *rational* read *national*.—Page 323, line 35, for *take* read *taste*.—Page 328, line 28, for *metal* read *mettle*.

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